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# WEEKLY PEOPLE

VOL. XIII No. 33.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1903

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PRICE TWO CENT

## THE BAY STATE

### BATTLE OF THE BALLOTS AND ITS ENDING.

What the Defeat of Carey and the Decrease of His Party's Vote Means—The Duty of the Members of the S. L. P. in the Present Condition of Affairs.

[Special to The People.]

Lynn, Mass., Nov. 4.—The battle of the ballots is over. Raw-boned capitalism is again in the saddle. Bates, its candidate, carries the State for the Republican party by at least 37,000 over the Democratic candidate, Gaston, who was the candidate of the Boston Elevated Railroad also.

Kangarooism, or bogus Socialism, received a scorching all along the line. There is a falling off of at least 25 per cent. from their vote of last year, when they polled over 33,000 votes. They also lose McCartney's district (Fourth Plymouth), and the "Armory Builder," Carey, bites the dust of defeat in the Fifth Essex at Haverhill. Carey was defeated by the Republican candidate, William L. Adams, by 168 plurality. Adams is the weakest man that the Republicans have ever placed in nomination against "Weeping James," who now parts company with "the best job he ever had in the scab shop," on Beacon Hill, owing to the scabby work done both in Haverhill and Lynn by his scabby party during the late strike. It is a case of where "Imperial Caesar turned to clay will stop a hole and keep the wind away."

The bogus Socialists, or Kongs, are now in a bad way. McCartney is dead. Carey is defeated. Chase falls short about 8,000 votes from his poll of last year, and the bogus outfit finds itself with but one representative in the House, Ransden, of Brockton. Perhaps they will now learn the lesson that brag, bluster and fraud are not substantial foundation stones on which to rest a political movement, if it is to endure.

The Democratic machine cut the ground from under the bogus Socialists. The Democrats fought their battle on the issue of taxation, and took the bogus Socialist position, that each working class family was robbed of \$100 per annum through taxation. This not only caught the middlehead voter, but it set the Republicans at work also, as they feared that Gaston might sweep the State.

The Republicans remembered how in the early '90s the "Boy Orator," Russell, backed by the same corporate interest that backed Gaston this year, swept the State. So they took the bull by the horns and brought their big guns here to rouse the apathetic in their ranks. Senator Lodge, Secretary Shaw, and William H. Moody, were pressed into service to "Save the State." And in the mix-up that followed the middle-headed bogus Socialists went down like sheep in a slaughter house. Their "boonness" has cost them dearly. The labor fakirs, whom they relied on to save them, delivered the goods to about the same extent that Parks and his gang honored the draft of "Bill" Devery in New York on "organized labor."

An immense vote was polled all over the State. Republicans and Democrats doing all in their power to get out the stay at home vote. Despite all this the vote of the S. L. P. will not fall off much. The capitalist press keep back our vote and therefore an accurate estimate is impossible at this time, but from what is known at this time, Brennan, S. L. P. candidate will poll about 6,000 votes in the State, which is remarkable when the activity of the Republicans, Democrats and bogus Socialists is taken into consideration.

It is now in order for every militant to make up his mind that the result of the next campaign, 1904, rests on him and work accordingly. It is the supreme duty of the hour for every member of the party to fall into line at once and put the fighting S. L. P. in shape for the national contest of 1904. The best beginning that can be made is by seeing that every workingman possible is made a reader of The Weekly People. Our press can and will shape the thought of the working class, when our party members take hold and work with the same enthusiasm that characterized the Republican and Democratic managers in the election now passed. Remember, comrades, that a faint heart never won a fair lady, or, for that matter, anything else. So begin the campaign of 1904 at once and canvas your locality at once. Make your neighbors who are workingmen feel the necessity of doing something for themselves and their class else they will remain voting cattle for the enemy to use against us whenever they want to. If the mountain won't go to Mohammed then Mohammed must go to the mountain, and as the mountain won't come to us let us go to it and place it where it belongs: in the ranks of the S. L. P.

The Party Press will move that mountain, if the party members will move themselves.  
Michael T. Berry.

## SCATHING AND DOCUMENTARY INDICTMENT

Of the Capitalist Class and Its Officials, From Governors Down—Some Interesting and Authentic Letters Written by Colorado Politicians.

Denver, Colo., Sept. 30.—From this elevation above the level of the sea, and under the shadow of Pike's Peak, I have passed in review the press of the Labor Movement. After a careful scrutiny, I find that only THE PEOPLE deserves to be made the vehicle of the documentary indictment that I hereby draw up against the capitalist class and its political officials, from Governor and Judges down, in this State. Inferentially, the indictment covers them all in all the other States as well. He who runs could read that.

The following documents will silence forever the claim that the capitalist is a fair and impartial administration of eternal justice. They prove beyond all question that the government is but an institution to protect the interests and execute the will of the capitalist class; that it is but organized capitalist society; and they shed a vivid light upon the methods pursued by the capitalists in reaching these ends.

It is only natural that the capitalist press, when this is brought forth, seeking to throw "neath the shadow of a mole hill, will charge someone with the "betrayal of professional confidences;" and some literary genius will write another "Message to Garcia," extolling the virtues of that faithful, aspiring, competent wage slave at starvation wages. Let this fact be made unmistakably clear; no wage worker with any private information, however obtained, valuable to the working class in its struggle for emancipation, can be faithful to both the capitalist class and to its own class. The interests of the employers demand that silence and secrecy reign about their dark practices so that the ignorance and slavery of the working class may continue; while on the other hand the success of the working class requires that every ray of light possible be thrown upon the system of our slavery and the path out of it. Hence there is no code of ethics between the Socialist Labor Party and the capitalists; we weigh every situation with but one balance and that is the interests of the working class.

Again, the capitalist press will probably belch forth condemnation upon the specific corporations and the particular politicians most directly involved and possibly call for an investigation, etc., with the cunning intention of covering up the universality of these practices and the real class character of the whole government with the smoke of a little fight against these individuals. But when you see that they represent every one of the old parties—Republican, Democratic, Populists—and this railroad company operates in several different states and follows the same practice in all, you will recognize the true character of the situation.

It is an old tale that railroads furnish legislators and other government officials with "free" transportation. It will also be remembered how in 1894, Carroll D. Wright, on a government mission to investigate the Chicago railroad strike, traveled on a Pullman pass. But the importance of it is not comprehended by many of our class. Railroad companies have never been distinguished because of their generosity, their benevolence or their charity. The practical purposes for which railroads issue "free" transportation can be divided into three classes, which are: First, to employees; second, to merchants, manufacturers, etc.; and third, to preachers, editors and politicians.

The issuance of transportation to the first class is a part of the wages of the employees. Jobs with railroad companies are more desirable because of the transportation that goes with them; competition is, therefore, increased and the result is that a qualified applicant for the job is found for less wages than he would be were it not for the "free" transportation.

The issuance of transportation to the second class is for the purpose of influencing commercial men to do their shipping over the road that furnishes the transportation; in other words, patronage is bought with "free" passes. This is of no particular concern to the working class.

Transportation is issued "free" to the third class in payment for its influence upon the public mind and for the privilege, in conjunction with the other capitalists, of controlling the powers of government. The complete knowledge of this use of "free" transportation is of inconceivable value to the working class.

can correctly analyze almost every political movement under their light.

I.  
(Copy.)  
Denver, Colo., April 13, 1903.  
A. W. Scribner, Esq., Land Commissioner, Omaha, Neb.

Dear Sir: We understand that the General Solicitor has referred to you the application of Mr. Criss Lunnay, County Clerk of Adams County, for annual transportation. The Chairman of the Board of County Commissioners of Adams County called upon us this morning and suggested that, if it was consistent with our rules, he thought it would be to the benefit of the Railroad Company to give Mr. Lunnay annual transportation of some kind, even if it was nothing more than transportation good between Denver and Brighton. He said that Mr. Lunnay was quite influential in County affairs and that he thought he would be readily converted to the interests of the Company by some concessions in the way of transportation.

Yours very truly,  
Teller & Dorsey.

In the above from Teller & Dorsey, attorneys of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, you will note: First, that a pass is not issued until it is shown that "it would be to the benefit of the railroad;" second, that these little officials must show that they are "quite influential in affairs," and that they are sometimes greatly embarrassed by the low value placed upon their services by the officer of the capitalist; however, they take what they can get and are "readily converted to the interests of the company," even though they only receive a pass over 30 miles of track.

But bear in mind at all times, that all these officials, when candidates for office, were known to be upholders of the capitalist system and all that goes with it and that they never could have taken their official seats against the organized opposition of the working class.

II.  
(Copy.)  
STATE OF COLORADO,  
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,  
DENVER.

August the thirty-first, 1903.  
Messrs. Teller and Dorsey, Attorneys, Union Pacific Railroad Company, City, Boston Building.  
Gentlemen: Finding myself wholly unable to enjoy the privileges extended through the Southern Pacific pass from San Francisco to Ogden, I have the honor to return same to you herewith, and thank you sincerely for your trouble in the matter, which I may at some future time invoke in my behalf.

Respectfully yours,  
(Signed) James H. Peabody, Governor.

This letter, written on the official letter head of the "Executive Chamber," demonstrates, not only that the governor of the state of Colorado has "the honor" to return the pass he finds he is "wholly unable to enjoy," but that he feels he is under some obligation to the company, and when we remember that his administration has but begun, yet he has twice called out the military power of the state to intimidate working men on strike; in view of the above confession, we can see that he is indeed "invoking the favor" of the interested capitalists in his behalf.

III.  
(Copy.)  
Denver, Colo., Sept. 2, 1903.  
Hon. W. R. Kelly, General Solicitor, Omaha, Neb.

Dear Sir: Herewith Southern Pacific pass No. B9256, from Ogden to San Francisco and return, in favor of Hon. J. H. Peabody. As indicated by the enclosed letter, Governor Peabody returns the pass for cancellation for the reason that he is unable to make use of the same.

Yours very truly,  
DC Enc

Number III indicates: First, that the Southern Pacific Railroad follows the same practices as the Union Pacific; second, that the same practice is followed in Utah, Nevada and California as is followed in Colorado and that, therefore, this is not a local affair; third, that favors of this kind had been issued to an unknown number, then the company began series A and "invoked" the aid of various government officials until the number under that series had become so large as to be cumbersome; and that now the company has issued 9,250 such favors under series B, and, fourth, that despite this tremendous amount of passenger service it has cost them to maintain an ideal capitalist administration, the company is still thoroughly satisfied with the result and says of its action, "let the good work go on."

IV.  
(Copy.)  
Denver, Colo., June 13, 1903.  
Hon. W. R. Kelly, General Solicitor, Omaha, Neb.

Dear Sir: Mr. J. B. Cooke, Deputy Clerk of the Supreme Court of this State, has requested trip transportation, Denver to Council Bluffs and return, and half-rate good for 60 days. He desires to go East leaving here on Wednesday next. We are anxious to accommodate Mr. Cooke, if it can be done consistently with

your rules under the present condition of affairs. Mr. Cooke's position is such that he has frequently been able to and has rendered us valuable services in connection with matters in which the Railroad Company was interested, especially in connection with the Tax litigation of a year or two ago.

If you think it proper to give Mr. Cooke what he asks kindly so advise us by wire upon receipt of this and we will obtain the transportation and the half-rate order from Superintendent Deuel.

Yours very truly,  
Teller & Dorsey.

Number IV teaches that the courts have also "rendered valuable services" in anticipation of accommodations to be requested in the future.

V.  
(Copy.)  
STATE OF COLORADO,  
SUPREME COURT CHAMBERS,  
DENVER.

Denver, Colorado, June 16th, 1903.  
C. C. Dorsey, Esquire.

My Dear Sir: I thank you most sincerely for your favor. I asked Mr. Rogers to speak to you because he knew better than any one else what I had done for the R. R. attorneys, and stand ready to do whenever I can. I hope to be able to prove my appreciation of this favor.

Yours very truly,  
John B. Cooke.

This letter shows that there is no sentiment about it; that this practice is carried on in the "State of Colorado Supreme Court Chambers" in glaring and unscrupulous manner. Mr. Rogers is sent to remind the attorneys of how Mr. Cooke has used his official capacity, whose duties he has taken oath to perform without favoritism, not to dispense justice (for if simple justice had been dispensed the railroad company would be under no such obligations as are set forth in number IV) but to promote the interests of the railroad company at the expense of the other party to the controversy—and that is not all, but that he "stands ready" to, at every opportunity, put the powers of his office in the service of the company—yes, more, that he "hopes to be able to." Ah, boys, you can stake your last copper on it that his simple promises to the railroad company will always be kept rather than the official vow made, with his head bare, his right hand raised and "So help me God" upon his lips.

Workingmen, how would you like to go into this court, to ask protection in your right of free speech, for instance? Do you think your right would be respected if the conditions were such that the exercise of that right would be more dangerous to the security of capitalist exploitation than the destruction of it by the government? Never. Our constitutional rights are protected only when the capitalist class (the power behind the judges' bench) recognizes that the suppression of our rights will do more to kindle the fire of revolution in the minds of the working class than the exercise of those rights will do.

VI.  
(Copy.)  
Denver, Colo., May 12, 1903.  
Hon. W. R. Kelly, General Solicitor, Omaha, Neb.

Dear Sir: Next attached you will find a request from Sherman M. Bell, Adjutant General of the State, for annual transportation over the lines of Union Pacific Railroad Company. The Adjutant General is in a position to be of benefit to the railroad company in case of labor troubles or similar occurrence and we understand that it is customary for the other railroads in this State to furnish him with such transportation.

His office is an appointive one and at the time we sent in this year's pass that the present incumbent had not received his appointment. We recommend the issuance of this transportation, if it seems proper to you.

Yours very truly,  
Teller & Dorsey.

O, how frankly these railroad attorneys admit in this letter that they control the military power "in cases of labor troubles"—how fiercely they prod the wage workers, especially the pure and simple union men who are voluntarily consenting to handle the rifle under the orders of Adjutant General Sherman M. Bell or other similar officers and while the tramp of that soldiery is heard on the field of the industrial struggle now waging in this state this railroad's attorneys, frank as they have been, have not spoken more plainly the truth that the army is maintained for their service and subject to their call than has the action of the army in Teller County. And yet some sons of America who work for wages 8 to 12 hours a day have been appearing nightly upon our streets for military drill to inspire the capitalists with the power of Colorado to "execute the law and suppress insurrection with her borders."

VII.  
(Copy.)  
B-1-14-08-50M.  
Form 50.  
UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY.

In your reply please refer to No. 50.  
Omaha, Neb., May 23, 1903.

Teller & Dorsey, General Attorneys, Denver, Colo.  
Gentlemen: Herewith find annual good

in Nebraska and Colorado in favor of Mr. Sherman M. Bell, adjutant general. WW—D  
Yours truly,  
W. R. Kelly, General Solicitor.

This letter only serves to show that such information as given in V is a very cogent argument with the general officers of the Railroad Company.

VIII.  
(Copy.)  
Communications on official business should be addressed to: "The Adjutant General, State Capitol, Denver, Colo."

JAMES H. PEABODY, Governor.  
SHERMAN M. BELL, Adjutant General, STATE OF COLORADO, Adjutant General's Office, DENVER, COLORADO.

May 27, 1903.  
Messrs. Teller and Dorsey, Attorneys Union Pacific Railroad Company, 307 Boston building, Denver, Colo.

Gentlemen—I herewith acknowledge receipt of Annual transportation No. B-2501, good on lines of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, in Colorado and Nebraska, for the ensuing year.

Kindly accept my thanks for same, and with kind regards, I am  
Very respectfully,  
Sherman M. Bell, Adjutant General, State of Colorado.

Number VIII proves that the Union Pacific has reached series B in the issuance of its annual passes and has issued 2,501 such favors under that series. It also shows that interstate transportation—annual interstate transportation, is issued in spite of the fact that there is a United States law fixing a penalty of not to exceed \$20,000 for the issuance of interstate transportation free or for special reduced rates, except to railroad employees, and that it is issued to the Adjutant General and instead of prosecuting the violators of the law with the same pomp, circumstance and gusto that has characterized his dealing with the working class when he pretended to imagine the dignity of the law endangered, he, with kind regards, acknowledges receipt and tenders his thanks to the violators of the law for the violation and subscribed to this acknowledgment his official military signature.

The meaning of the interstate commerce law, as understood by the legal departments of divers railroads centering in Denver is stated in part by them as follows:

"According to the unanimous opinion of the counsel of the different railroads to whom this question was submitted, the issuance of interstate passes was originally unlawful and the new Elkins bill gives vitality to the old act, which prohibited such transportation, and imposes effective penalties for violations of the act."

The issuance of local transportation not entitling the holder to interstate carriage is not prohibited by the Interstate Commerce Law, except in so far as such transportation may be used as a device for producing inequality in interstate business or be calculated to influence such business. Counsel are of the opinion as to this question that each particular case must stand upon its own merits and the action of the traffic officer in the granting or refusing of such transportation may well be determined in view of the answer which the traffic officer can give to the following question: "Can I upon the witness stand under oath honestly and fairly say that in giving this transportation good locally within the state, I was not influenced in the slightest degree by the fact that the recipient of the favor is engaged in interstate commerce over my line, and I should have given the pass just as freely if the recipient was not engaged in the slightest degree in interstate commerce?"

The following letter was sent to learn what the practical operation of the interstate commerce law shall be:

IX.  
(Copy.)  
Denver, Colo., May 20, 1903.  
Hon. W. R. Kelly, General Solicitor, Omaha, Neb.

Transportation.  
Dear Sir: Hon. James H. Peabody, Governor of the State of Colorado, has requested trip transportation in favor of Hattie Cowie from Denver to Grand Island and return, good to July 20th.

Senator C. D. Griffith, State Senator from this County, a hold-over and an influential man in the Legislature has requested trip transportation for himself, Denver to Council Bluffs and return and half-rate for the reason that they are good friends to the road and both are in positions to do us material favors.

If you approve of the issuance of this transportation kindly so advise us by wire immediately upon receipt of this letter, as the gentlemen desire to have the transportation at the earliest possible date if it is to be issued at all.

Referring to the Elkins Act, we beg to say that although shortly after its passage, the railroad attorneys in Denver construed the Act as an amendment to the Interstate Commerce Law and advised that no transportation should be issued except to the classes of persons mentioned in the original Interstate Commerce Law, nevertheless several direct violations of the Act have come to our notice. In the case of one interstate road in particular, we are aware that it has issued interstate transportation to shippers and with the evident purpose of influencing traffic.

In respect to political transportation, we should like to have some general instructions from you in regard to whether or not

transportation is to be issued upon political grounds. DC  
Yours very truly,

Number IX also confirms the purport of previous letters that transportation is given only for value received.

X.  
(Copy.)  
Omaha, Neb., May 28, 1903.

Mr. Clayton C. Dorsey, General Attorney, Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir: Your letter of May 26th, addressed to Mr. Kelly, asking him to lay down some rules for your guidance in the matter of the issuance of transportation under the Elkins law, is received in Mr. Kelly's absence and it is not likely that he will be home for two weeks, possibly longer. As soon as Mr. Kelly returns to Omaha I will lay your letter before him and ask him to write you a letter laying down certain rules to be applied with reference to the issuance of such transportation.

In the meantime I can advise you this: We are issuing you transportation, interstate in character, on pretty much the same ground that we were before the enactment of this law, that is, transportation which is issued strictly on account of employees, or their families; for services performed, and on strictly political account.

Of course if the man concerned is a shipper or the transportation is given in any way that might be construed as influencing business we decline to issue it, and in fact, in Kansas, we have been compelled to take up an annual pass, good in that State, on account of a complaint being made that the party holding the pass has more or less to do with controlling interstate business.

We are endeavoring, as much as possible, to curtail the issuance of interstate transportation and have used the Elkins law as a leverage in doing so.

Yours truly,  
(Signed) W. Whitaker.

Number X is very instructive. It teaches that, for the purpose of influencing business, transportation is not issued and the law to that extent is complied with; while interstate transportation is issued on strictly political account about the same as before, except that the company is endeavoring to curtail the issuance of free transportation, and the law which was passed with so much talk about curbing the railroad corporations in the dishonest use of free transportation is found to be exactly the thing these companies wanted as a leverage for use in avoiding compliance with the requests for transportation from an army of little politicians whose official power was not worth transportation out of the state; that the law of this nation is not calculated to be obeyed by the capitalists, but for the capitalists.

Now, the reason that the issuance of free transportation for its influence on traffic has been discontinued is: First, because the railroad companies as a whole must receive the traffic whether the transportation is issued or not, and a commercial man, being able to get about the same concessions in free transportation from one as from another, in most cases ships his goods over the road that is most convenient the same as if free transportation were unknown, and then he will go to the railroad officials, remind them of his patronage and get his pass. Therefore the issuance of passes to influence traffic having been practiced by all the companies, of course the result has been that each has received just about the same proportionate share of the trade that would naturally have come to it; consequently if the issuance of free transportation were cut out altogether, each company would be in pocket about the amount of railroad fare it would cost the shippers to do their traveling; second, if a railroad company grants transportation to influence trade, every other railroad company whose interest is injured thereby and which desires to prosecute, has the economic power to carry the case from the bottom to the top of the judicial department of our government and fasten the penalty upon the violator of the law in the court of last resort.

On the other hand, the issuance of free transportation for political purposes: First, renders double secure in the hands of the capitalist class the powers of government; and second, usually works to the detriment of only the working class, whose financial condition is such that it requires an exhausting effort to carry a case at law as high as the District Court and even if carried to the court of last resort, the judge would find as was found in the case in which President Huntington was prosecuted, which was, in substance, as follows: "The complaint does not aver that free transportation is not issued to every one who wishes to apply for it. If free transportation is issued to all, then there is no discrimination by Mr. Huntington in favor of the party named in the complaint. If there has been no discrimination, there has been no violation of the law, and since no discrimi-

(Continued on Page 2.)

## S. L. P. VOTE

FURTHER AND INCOMPLETE RETURNS FROM VARIOUS PLACES.

The Boot and Shoe Workers' Conflict and Its Effect in Haverhill—"The Union Vote" in Peekskill—Class-Conscious Workmen Confident That Right Will Prevail.

Manhattan and Bronx.

Assembly Districts	S. L. P. 1903	S. L. P. 1902	S. D. P. 1903	S. D. P. 1902
First	13	28	19	23
Second	30	37	89	85
Third	63	89	68	69
Fourth	110	179	882	814
Fifth	43	52	75	65
Sixth	80	141	251	240
Seventh	45	60	100	77
Eighth	85	150	614	457
Ninth	61	68	104	90
Tenth	182	282	748	656
Eleventh	35	78	104	119
Twelfth	177	351	580	534
Thirteenth	78	108	192	192
Fourteenth	222	286	488	402
Fifteenth	78	103	145	108
Sixteenth	392	609	587	450
Seventeenth	61	82	129	123
Eighteenth	76	142	158	177
Nineteenth	45	86	118	85
Twentieth	66	103	131	128
Twenty-first	86	129	184	182
Twenty-second	57	98	222	165
Twenty-third	91	182	376	346
Twenty-fourth	76	121	375	378
Twenty-fifth	34	33	61	52
Twenty-sixth	129	184	623	581
Twenty-seventh	27	36	36	39
Twenty-eighth	138	174	692	628
Twenty-ninth	38	36	60	59
Thirtieth	162	217	889	933
Thirty-first	98	178	256	213
Thirty-second	174	295	633	460
Thirty-third	119	165	241	181
Thirty-fourth	293	381	628	491
Thirty-fifth	345	424	1102	1058
Annexed Dis.	17	67	142	146
Total	3332	5820	12092	10116

Brooklyn.

Assembly Districts	S. L. P. 1903	S. L. P. 1902	S. D. P. 1903	S. D. P. 1902
First	20	54	111	99
Second	52	75	70	37
Third	22	49	76	64
Fourth	36	87	117	100
Fifth	86	130	210	193
Sixth	101	195	304	281
Seventh	121	174	242	149
Eighth	34	40	64	36
Ninth	32	73	87	91
Tenth	34	52	88	52
Eleventh	46	59	105	71
Twelfth	68	143	178	159
Thirteenth	100	228	316	298
Fourteenth	80	156	143	126
Fifteenth	111	276	451	354
Sixteenth	78	98	212	188
Seventeenth	23	39	66	52
Eighteenth	71	102	158	135
Nineteenth	90	191	428	372
Twentieth	127	264	1077	1025
Twenty-first	202	378	619	539
Total	1535	2860	5122	4381

THE KANGAROO SLUMP.

Boston, Nov. 5.—According to official returns, the "Socialist" alias Social Democratic vote in Massachusetts was reduced nearly 25 per cent. and only one Socialist goes to the legislature. This is Wallace C. Ransden, of Brockton, who is returned to the House from the Ninth Plymouth District. Returns from 306 out of the 335 cities and towns in the State show that John C. Chase, "Socialist" candidate for Governor, polled only 24,214 votes, against 32,135 in the same towns a year ago. The proportionate loss, figured for the entire State, would be \$407 votes. "Socialist" strongholds show disheartening figures for the party leaders. In Haverhill, which elected their first Mayor in the country, their vote dropped from 1,530 to 1,201. This was due, the capitalist newspapers claim, to the fight of the Shoe Workers' protective union against Representative Carey, who last spring stood with the Boot and Shoe Workers' union.

Among the larger losses were those of Amesbury, which dropped from 322 to 216; Cambridge, 912 to 545; Chelsea, 633 to 400; Clinton, 279 to 161; Fitchburg, 854 to 635; Leominster, 279 to 145; Lynn, 1,201 to 702



# A SCATHING AND DOCUMENTARY INDICTMENT

(Continued from page 1.)

nation has been shown by the pleadings, the defendant is dismissed with his costs." And it is only natural that a court of nine justices, each with a pass from the defendant company in his card case and whose experience has been that all their requests for free transportation have been complied with, should judicially conclude that free transportation is issued without discrimination.

Working men bear in mind always that the law is used "as a leverage" by the capitalist class to effect its ends.

XI.

(Copy.)

Geo. E. McConley, Platt Burke, Attorney at Law, Sterling, Colorado. Sterling, Colo., July 25, 1903.

Messrs. Teller & Dorsey, Boston Bldg., Denver, Colo.

Gentlemen: Will you kindly send me pass via Union Pacific railway, from Sterling to Ogden and return, good until August 31st, on account of County Attorney of this county, also Deputy District Attorney.

It may be that it will be necessary to divide it up into three passes, one from Sterling to Carr and return, the other from Cheyenne to Evanston and return, the other from Alamy Junction to Ogden and return; and I herewith enclose a recommendation from the station agent of this place, and trust I am not asking for more than I should receive, and thanking you for this favor as well as past favors granted, I beg to remain

Yours truly,

Geo. E. McConley,

County Attorney.

Messrs. Teller and Dorsey read number XI and probably thought: "Mr. McConley is in a position where he can and often does assist the railroad company, therefore we will make the request," and wrote number XII.

XII.

(Copy.)

D-14-08-503M

Form 51.

SUBJECT: UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY.

In your reply please refer to No. 11.

Denver, Colo., July 28, 1903.

Dear Sir:—If consistent, please issue trip transportation in favor of George E. McConley, County Attorney for Logan County and also Deputy District Attorney, from Sterling to Ogden, Utah, and return, good until August 31st.

If issued, kindly mail the transportation direct in the enclosed envelope.

Yours very truly,

DC Enc. Teller & Dorsey.

After signing number XII, Messrs. Teller and Dorsey no doubt thought: "Deputy District Attorney. Well, that is not much of an office. His services are desirable, but not worth the price; we will have them anyway. This is the sort of cases where the General Solicitor wishes to use the leverage." Then they said: "Well, we believe we will turn him down on this. The letter was not sent. After being written, that letter, No. XII, was crumpled into a ball and thrown into the waste basket whence it was carelessly thrown as waste paper where it was found and placed by me in the collection of original documents herein enclosed. Instead of No. XII, Teller and Dorsey dictated and sent the following letter, here marked No. XIII. It shows the skilful manipulation of the leverage. It is too unique and transparent to need comment. Here it is:

XIII.

(Copy.)

Denver, Colo., July 28, 1903.

Geo. E. McConley, Esq., Attorney at Law, Sterling, Colorado.

Dear Sir: We have yours of the 25th inst., requesting transportation in your favor from Sterling to Ogden and return. It would give us great pleasure to oblige you, but we are quite unable to do so at the present time. Since the passage of the Elkins Amendment to the Interstate Commerce Law, that law has been made readily enforceable and the penalties for violations of its provisions increased; and for the issuance of interstate transportation in such a case as the present one, the Railroad Company lays itself open to a fine of very large amount. We have, therefore, been instructed by the General office to issue no transportation interstate in character, or constituting part of an interstate journey, except to the classes of persons specially mentioned in the Act. These instructions include half-fares and other concessions of every character.

Respecting our inability to oblige you, we are

Yours very truly,

(Signed) Teller &amp; Dorsey.

DC.

XIV.

(Copy.)

Denver, Colo., June 18, 1903.

Hon. W. R. Kelly, General Solicitor, Omaha, Neb.

Dear Sir: Mr. Charles R. Brock, Assistant City and County Attorney, has requested trip transportation in his favor from Denver to Kansas City and return and a half-rate from Kansas City to St. Louis and return, all good for 90 days.

Mr. Brock has charge for the City and County of Denver, of all matters relating to taxation and in that capacity has found it possible to make favorable recommendations in respect to important petitions covering Union Pacific taxes, which are now pending before the City Council sitting as a Board of County Commissioners.

Under the circumstances, we consider ourselves indebted to Mr. Brock and if you can consistently procure for him the favor which he desires we should be obliged.

If the transportation is issued, kindly send it to us for delivery to Mr. Brock.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) Teller &amp; Dorsey.

DC.

Number XIV shows the fight between the class of large capitalists and the class of small capitalists and how the official of the city, whose duty it is to guard the interests of the city, consents, for the consideration of a measly pass, to assist this corporation to secure the adoption of its petition, the result of which will be that the tax must be collected from the small business men; besides that, these officials receive their salaries from the government, whether

they ride on passes or not, in the general assembly this amounts to thousands of dollars. And the middle class have been so utterly stupid—they have boasted their intelligence, and they would do well to erect a monument to the memory of it; it needs a monument. The way they have played the fool has been equalled only by the actions of the working class in following labor leaders whose avowed program was to continue the wage slavery of their followers in consideration of a political job for themselves. Workingmen would do well to read "Two Pages from Roman History" under the light of these letters. And should we, in view of the treatment of the middle class by the capitalist class proper, tender them our assistance? By all means let us absolutely ignore their capitalist interests. If they secure any benefit from our toil let it be not as small skimmers of labor, but as honest citizens of the Socialist Republic. The middle class is wholly incapable of accomplishing anything without our aid. Let us withdraw every item of assistance from their capitalist reforms and force them to follow a party standing for their middle class interests into hopeless and endless defeat after defeat, owing to their financial as well as numerical weakness; force them to cast their lot with the class of large capitalists against the workers; or force them not as leaders but as followers to assist a revolutionary party led and directed by the working class.

If any one harbors the middle class idea that we can put good men in office who will be pure and unapproachable, who will take the office with no program except to continue capitalism and enforce the laws without partiality, let him dismiss it. Such men may find their way into public office, but they will be as scarce as icebergs within the tropics. History gives us no example of a nation of people supporting a parasitical aristocratic class without the political powers being in the service of the aristocracy.

But, even if the capitalist government might be administered without corruption it is at best a system in which the capitalist class buys labor power in the market at a price which averages only enough to meet the necessities of the workmen and keep the market supplied with wage slaves; and the owners of the means of production pay us the wages, and keep the remainder of our product. Improvements in the machinery of production do not operate to raise our standard of living; on the contrary they do operate to increase the number of men out of work and lessen the number of jobs, and consequently lower wages on the market. Improvement of machinery tends to make adequate a wage that will support a decreasing rather than an increasing population, and in such case only those with the lowest standard of living will survive.

The power of the capitalist class to live on our product rests solely on their ownership of the means of production. We can, therefore, secure our emancipation from wage slavery only by gaining the control of the powers of government and making the means of production our collective property. Don't follow after middle class reforms. The government is wielded against the middle class, of course, and the very officers who are designed by the fundamental law to protect that class from the necessity of bearing an unequal share of the burden of government are working under the instructions of the large capitalist class; let the middle class learn this, but only for the purpose of showing them that their capitalist ideals are empty dreams and that if they are still to shout their friendship for the workers and be free from the just condemnation of a true working class party they must give their aid to the party led by the working class.

XV.

(Copy.)

Chas. R. Brock, LAWYER, 711 Ernest & Cramer building, DENVER, Colo.

July 1, 1903.

My Dear Sir: I have your appreciated favor enclosing pass from Denver to Kansas City and return, together with order for one-half fare rate between Kansas City and St. Louis, and thank you most heartily therefor.

Yours,

Chas. R. Brock.

DC.

XVI.

(Copy.)

Denver, Colo., June 23, 1903.

Hon. W. R. Kelly, General Solicitor, Omaha, Neb.

Dear Sir: The present County of Arapahoe, with Littleton as its County-seat, was organized and its officers appointed after the preparation and forwarding to you of our pass list for 1903. For that reason Charles Gallagher, Sheriff of said County, was not furnished with the usual annual pass, good within the State of Colorado, if you can conveniently do so we should be obliged if you would obtain a pass good for the remainder of this year over the lines of Union Pacific in the State of Colorado and in favor of Charles Gallagher, Sheriff of Arapahoe County, forwarding the same to us when issued.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) Teller &amp; Dorsey.

DC.

Number XVI shows that the sheriff is usually furnished an annual pass and of course he usually (the exceptions are extremely rare) serves the interests of the capitalist class. The Socialist Labor Party speakers have been arrested several times and in at least five different cities in Colorado this year, and the police courts in four out of those five cities have fined them. I have no signed acknowledgment of the official letterhead of the Legal Document of the State of Colorado and has signed it in his official capacity as Attorney General and beyond all possible question in that capacity he intends to return his obligation. The qualifications of the office of Attorney General require that the officer be learned in the law and the constitution

the Mine Owners' Association may plead that the railroad companies may be giving favors to the government officials, but that the mine owners are innocent until proven guilty. Then let the workers note the following very carefully:

We know that the actions of the police toward our class are parallel with those of the sheriffs and the military; we know that the actions of the police judges in handling us is on a par with that of the higher courts; we know that the government of every state in the union in dealing with our class is strikingly similar to the manipulation of the government of the State of Colorado; and we know that the service of the owners of the mines, the mills, the smelters and all other industrial institutions by all the powers of government is exactly the same as their service of the railroad companies. The proofs we have produced that the railroad companies are willing to pay handsomely for these services in this state demonstrates that the government is unscrupulously serving their interests and the fact that the actions of the governments toward the workers in other states and other industries are similar to those of this state toward the workers on the railroads is prima facie evidence of the service of the owners of those other industries by the government; and the further fact that the railroad company is compelled to grant favors to the officials to secure these services is prima facie evidence that the other capitalists securing them must also grant favors to government officials. That the railroad companies would not be required to grant favors in payment for governmental service unless other corporations were required to do likewise needs no demonstration, but the fact that the railroad companies do not grant free passage where they would otherwise receive railroad fare, except they are to receive a favor in return, is amply demonstrated by these letters.

Nevertheless, that is not the vital point. It is not because the capitalists live in luxury and at ease that we complain, but it is because the luxuries they indulge in are taken from the product of our toil and we are thereby reduced to the commonest fare, to subservient obedience, to appear at our place of toil with the regularity of a first-class clock, to quit work and stand resourceless at the will of the owner of the tools we use, to maintain silence, often when we most wish to speak, for fear of being discharged for our political ideas. It is because we are slaves that we revolt. And it is not because the government officials are paid by the capitalists that we denounce them; but it is because they assist the capitalists to fleece us as close as possible. Capitalism is a system of exploitation, but whenever the subjection of the working class may be more effectually guaranteed or they may be more advantageously exploited by the suspension of the operation of any law or rule in that system, that statute is violated and the capitalists who violate it are immune from punishment, and when necessary, it is violated by the very power which enacted it. It is especially for these expedient measures that the government officials, sworn by their various political platforms to support the capitalist system of exploitation are favored by individual capitalists.

XVII.

(Copy.)

Denver, Colo., June 30, 1903.

Hon. N. C. Miller, Attorney General, Capitol Bldg., City.

Dear Sir: We take pleasure in handing you herewith separate passes in favor of Mrs. H. E. Tower, No. 11202, and Mrs. Martha A. Smith, No. 11203, Denver to Omaha and return via Kansas City, as requested by you. Respectfully,

(Signed) Teller & Dorsey.

MC Enc.

Here is interstate transportation. Similar favors had been theretofore issued to an unknown number under both series A and series B, and 13201 under series C. These are interstate and issued at the request and delivered to the Attorney General of the state, whose duty it is to prosecute violations of the law; but, instead of pressing the prosecution, he sends the railroad attorneys the following letter:

XVIII.

(Copy.)

State of Colorado, LEGAL DEPARTMENT, Denver.

July 1, 1903.

Messrs. Teller & Dorsey, Attorneys Union Pacific R. Co., Denver, Colorado.

Gentlemen: I am in receipt of transportation requested for Mrs. Tower and her mother, Mrs. Smith, and I am very much obliged to you for the same, and appreciate the way in which the same is made out.

Yours truly,

N. C. Miller, Attorney-General.

The Attorney General acknowledges himself very much under obligations to the company for its violation of the law, and he appreciates very much the way it is done. We know that this obligation is not calculated to be paid in money. If it were, Mr. Miller would have bought the tickets outright and been in his present financial status. We know that it is not calculated to be paid by diverting traffic in favor of the company for the issuance of transportation for that purpose has been strictly forbidden by the letter numbered 11. But, by the letters hereinbefore published, we know that the transportation would not have been requested by Teller & Dorsey unless it was for value received; and here Mr. Miller has written the acknowledgment of the official letterhead of the Legal Document of the State of Colorado and has signed it in his official capacity as Attorney General and beyond all possible question in that capacity he intends to return his obligation. The qualifications of the office of Attorney General require that the officer be learned in the law and the constitution

tion of Colorado provides: Art. V, Sec. 41, Colo. Constitution. "Any person who shall directly or indirectly offer, give or promise any money or thing of value, testimonial, privilege or personal advantage to any executive or judicial officer or member of the general assembly, to influence him in the performance of any of his public or official duties, shall be deemed guilty of bribery, and be punished in such manner as shall be provided by law."

XIX.

(Copy.)

CHRISTIAN A. BENNETT, JUDGE EIGHTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT, Chambers at Greeley, Colo.

Greeley, Colo., June 26th, 1903.

C. C. Dorsey, Atty. at Law, Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir: I would like it possible to take a little vacation next month and write to ask if under the rules and regulations of the Company I could get transportation for myself and my daughter, Miss Nellie Bennett, from Denver to Chicago and return, good for say 90 days? If you can have this favor extended to me I shall be very greatly obliged.

Yours truly,

C. A. Bennett.

In the above XIX our friend Christian writes a note on his official letterhead, and, like a little child, only wants "to take a little vacation" and to get interstate transportation for two from Denver to Chicago and if issued he "shall be very greatly obliged." And it is not because of good friendship, but as per instructions in letter numbered X "on strictly political account" that the attorneys make request for the issuance, against the law, to the Honorable Judge of this interstate transportation, and are careful to mention the territory under the jurisdiction of our friend, Christian, who is "in a position where he can and often does show favors to the railroad company," as shown by number XX:

XX.

(Copy.)

Denver, Colo., June 26, 1903.

Hon. W. R. Kelly, General Solicitor, Omaha, Neb.

Dear Sir: Next attached, please find a letter from the Hon. C. A. Bennett, requesting transportation in favor of himself and daughter, Miss Nellie Bennett, from Denver to Chicago and return, good for sixty days. Judge Bennett is Judge of the Eighth Judicial District, embracing Weld County, and therefore is in a position where he can and often does show favors to the Railroad Company.

If it is consistent with your rules we should like very much to oblige Judge Bennett. If the transportation can be had and you decide to issue the same, kindly send it to us and we will deliver it to Judge Bennett.

Yours very truly,

Teller & Dorsey.

I enclose you for safe keeping copies of the annual pass lists in Colorado of the Union Pacific Railroad Company for 1901 and 1903, the legislative session years, which I suppose are too long for publication. (They will be published in a subsequent article.—Ed The People.)

Every official of any importance whatever who would, under any circumstances, have occasion to travel upon the Union Pacific has been "favored" with a pass and that this list shows every political shade of official that held office at that time, including the friends of labor, the members and officers of trade unions, yea, Mr. David C. Coates and perhaps others of the "Socialist Party" (Social Democratic Party), and notably H. E. Garman, ex-Secretary of the State Federation of Labor and Senator Frank A. Moore, the "friend of labor" from Fremont County; but they are all too numerous to mention individually.

In 1901 the laborers, particularly the trade unions, were under the impression that they had a great many labor representatives in the General Assembly. A lobbying committee was sent from the Colorado State Federation of Labor and the brotherhoods of Locomotive Firemen, Locomotive Engineers and Railroad Trainmen. These lobbying committees worked together and issued a report under the name of the "Joint Legislative Committee," which report showed seventy-two out of a total of 100 Assemblymen to be "friends of labor," with a majority in both houses.

They passed some half a dozen "labor laws" and each of them was but a mockery. As specimens, the eight hour amendment, which they proposed and which was adopted by a general vote at last election did not limit work to eight hours in one single line of employment. It prescribed no limitation whatever. The law they passed limiting the hours of work without a rest on railroads is wholly unknown to railroad working men unless per chance they have read about or heard about it through the boasting of the Legislative Committee of the number of the friends in the General Assembly and of the "courtesy" with which they were treated while begging that Assembly to pass some laws. The owners of all of the railroads, even in their dyspeptic dreams, never thought of obeying the law. "The Employers' Liability Law" declares in the first section that employers should be liable for injuries to employees, even though the injuries were caused by the negligence of fellow-servants, without regard to the rank of the negligent fellow-servant; and in the second section says: "Provided, however, that this act shall not be construed to repeal or change the existing laws relating" to the subject. In other words, the law was as a whole utterly nonsensical, and has been declared unconstitutional because of its inconsistency.

XXI.

(Copy.)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, STATE OF COLORADO, STATE CAPITOL BUILDING, DENVER, COLORADO.

Denver, Colo., 3-9-03.

Mr. Dorsey.

Dear Sir: I wish you would issue me a round trip pass over the Union Pacific good for 20 days, Denver to Ft. Morgan and return. Thanking you, etc., I am

Respectfully,

H. E. Garman.

Number XXI is by H. E. Garman, whom I heard agree with the Socialist Labor Party in a meeting a couple of years ago, "except" that he did not believe in forming a separate party. The Democrats had given practically all that had been asked and they had the political machinery and were willing for the working class to use it. Mr. Garman is a typical "labor leader" and this letter may serve to explain both why he regarded the Democratic Party as sufficient (for it is sufficient to put him in a position to secure "favors") and also why he praised the Assembly for giving the working class a lot of unenforceable laws—trifling even if they had been enforceable. I again urge the readers of these letters to read "Two Pages from Roman History" (which can be secured from the New York Labor News Company).

XXII.

(Copy.)

Denver, Colo., February 3, 1903.

Horace G. Burt, Esq., President, Omaha, Neb.

Dear Sir: Pursuant to your request that you be kept advised of the situation in Colorado State Legislature in regard to proposed legislation, we beg to inform you that the senatorial contest being now out of the way, both branches of the Legislature have settled down to the other business of the session.

Several bills have been introduced providing for an eight hour law in respect to labor employed in smelters and underground mines. These bills are being vigorously contested by The American Smelting & Refining Company, The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, and other corporations more directly interested in defeating the measure than is the Union Pacific Railroad Company. We think the contest will be a close one in respect to these measures, as the labor element is still very powerful in the politics of this State. We think the bills above mentioned are all so far introduced which are prejudicial to the company's interests, directly or indirectly.

Very truly yours,

Teller & Dorsey,

General Attorneys.

XXIII.

(Copy.)

B-9-24-02-50M

orm 550.

SUBJECT: Legislation in Colorado.

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY.

In reply please refer to No. ....

(Copy.)

Omaha, February 5, 1903.

Dear Sir: I have yours of the 3rd, regarding the legislative situation. I notice what you say about the bill introduced for repealing certain provisions of the revenue act requiring the payment of an annual license tax by every corporation. I agree with you that this bill should be put through, if possible, and I believe this company should join with the other corporations in doing so, contributing its proper share of the expenses. Will you please look after the matter?

Yours truly,

(Signed) H. G. Burt,

President.

Messrs. Teller & Dorsey, General Attorneys, Denver, Colo.

Numbers XXII and XXIII show that the capitalists work together to pass or defeat bills and contribute their "proper share of the expenses."

XXIV.

(Copy.)

Denver, Colo., February 14, 1903.

Horace G. Burt, Esq., President, Omaha, Neb.

Dear Sir: Referring to the situation in the Colorado Legislature, we beg to hand you herewith the following bills introduced in the Legislature, which we deem to be adverse to the interests of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. These are:

Senate Bill No. 68, by Senator Hill, providing for interest on damages for personal injuries. If it becomes a law it will greatly increase the amounts recoverable in suits for personal injuries, and we think the same should be defeated, if possible.

Senate Bill No. 100, by Senator Kennedy, is intended to compel every person to adhere to assumed risk in cases of personal injury or death suffered by an employee. This is important to all large employers of labor, and especially so to railroad companies, and should be defeated if possible.

House Bill No. 181, by Mr. Frewen, provides penalties for failure to comply with existing statutes in respect to road applications. This bill is revolutionary in its character, and every effort should be made to defeat it.

It is possible that some expense may be incurred by the railroad companies in connection with legislative matters. Will you kindly advise us whether Union Pacific Railroad Company is willing to pay its share of any reasonable expense incurred in this connection?

Yours very truly,

Teller & Dorsey,

General Attorneys.

EncAD.

Number XXIV signifies that the providing of a penalty for the violation of a labor law is revolution in "labor legislation"; that expenses are liable to be incurred in inducing Assemblymen to defeat or pass laws. You will remember that the Fuel & Iron Company and the American Smelting Company are incriminated by Teller & Dorsey's letters numbered XXII and XXIV, and after publication of this, if it is not true that they take part and pay their share of whatever expense is necessary, they are at liberty to prosecute Teller & Dorsey for libel. You would do well to take some little thing along with you to pass the time away with while you are waiting, when you go out to sit in the shade until these companies bring suit against Teller & Dorsey for libel.

XXV.

(Copy.)

B-9-24-02-50M.

Form 50.

SUBJECT: Legislation in Colorado.

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY.

In your reply please refer to No. ....

(Copy.)

Omaha, Feb. 16, 1903.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 14th, enclosing copies of Senate Bill No. 58, Senate Bill No. 120, Senate Bill No. 166, Senate Bill No. 195, House Bill No. 48, House Bill No. 127, House Bill No. 181, and House Bill No. 215, received.

All of these bills are more or less objectionable, and should be defeated. Whatever expense needs to be incurred in connection with legislative matters, you are authorized to make.

Yours truly,

M. G. Burt,

President.

Messrs. Teller & Dorsey, General Attorneys, Denver, Colorado.

Number XXV is very liberal. Now, do you know why union leader Gar-

man thought the Democratic party was all right? Now, do you know why Senator Moore, of Florence, and others were drunk while the eight-hour bill was in their charge, as a committee, as has been charged by a Denver daily, and though repeatedly referred to has not been denied by Senator Moore in his paper? By the way, it would be safer not to swear it was not true, even if the Senator did deny it. The Senator recently published charges against Philip Veal, the Socialist Labor Party agitator, and trusted to the credulity of his readers and their faith in himself to insure their being taken for granted; and when proof was energetically demanded by the S. L. P., Senator Moore editorially promised that "a letter addressed to William Maher, of Butte, Mont., will dispel all uncertainties in connection with the case." Immediately a registered letter was forwarded to Maher by an S. L. P. man, and the letter was returned unclaimed. Thus all uncertainties have been dispelled and the charges proven false; not only that, but it has been demonstrated that Moore imposes upon his readers in a most damnable as well as idiotically reckless manner, for the authenticity of a grave charge, publishing a false reference, and trusting his lucky stars that every one will take it for granted that the charge is true without writing the reference. The probabilities are a thousand to one that such men as he would very gracefully fall in with such a plan as is suggested by letters XXII-XXV, inclusive.

XXVI.

(Copy.)

SENATE CHAMBER, STATE OF COLORADO, State Capitol Building, Denver, Colorado.

Denver, Colo., March 10, 1903.

Messrs. Teller & Dorsey, Attys. for the Union Pac. R. R.

Dear Sirs: I am instructed by a majority of the Senate Committee on Railroads and Corporations to notify you that the Committee will take up for consideration Senate Bill No. 23, A Bill for an Act Creating a Railroad Commission, on Friday evening



# WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty-Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

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## PART II.

## WOMAN IN THE PRESENT—Continued.

The well-being of the population depends first of all upon the proper cultivation of the land. To raise the same to the highest degree of perfection is eminently a matter of public concern. That the cultivation of the land can reach the necessary high degree of perfection neither under the large, nor the middle, least of all under the small landlord system, has been previously shown. The most profitable cultivation of land depends not merely upon the special care bestowed upon it. Elements come here into consideration that neither the largest private holder, nor the mightiest association of these is equal to cope with. These are elements that lay over, even beyond the reach of the State and require international treatment.

Society must first of all consider the land as a whole—its topographical qualities, its mountains, plains, woods, lakes, rivers, ponds, heaths, swamps, moors, etc. The topography together with the geographical location of land both of which are unchangeable, exercises certain influences upon climate and the qualities of the soil. Here is an immense field on which a mass of experience is to be gathered and a mass of experiments to be made. What the State has done until now in this line is meager. What with the small means that it applies to these purposes, and what with the limitations imposed upon it by the large landlords, who even if the State were willing, would check it, little or nothing has been done. The State could do nothing on this field without greatly encroaching upon private property. Seeing, however, that its very existence is conditioned upon the safe-keeping and "sacredness" of private property, the large landlords are vital to it, and it is stripped of the power, even if it otherwise had the will, to move in that direction. Socialist society will have the task of undertaking vast improvements of the soil, raising woods here, and dismantling others yonder, draining and irrigating, mixing and changing of soil, planting, etc., in order to raise the land to the highest point of productivity that it is capable of.

An important question, connected with the improvement of the land, is the contrivance of an ample and systematically planned network of rivers and canals, conducted upon scientific principles. The question of "cheaper" transportation on the waterways—a question of such gravity to modern society—loses all importance in Socialist society, seeing that the conceptions "cheap" and "dear" are unknown to it. On the other hand, however, waterways, as comfortable means of transportation, that can, moreover, be utilized with but slight expenditure of strength and matter, deserve attention. Moreover river and canal systems play important roles in the matter of climate, draining and irrigation, and the supply of fertilizers and other materials needed in the improvement of agricultural land.

Experience teaches that poorly-watered regions suffer more severely from cold winters and hot summers than well-watered lands, whence east regions are exempt from the extremes of temperature, or rarely undergo them. Extremes of temperature are favorable neither to plants nor man. An extensive system of canalization, in connection with the proper forestry regulations, would unquestionably exercise beneficent influences. Such a system of canalization, along with the building of large reservoirs, that will collect the water in cases of freshets through thaws or heavy rainfalls, would be of great usefulness. Freshets and their devastating results would be impossible. Wide expanses of water, together with their proportional evaporations, would also, in all probability, bring about a more regular rain-fall. Finally such institutions would facilitate the erection of works for an extensive system of irrigation whenever needed.

Large tracts of land, until now wholly barren or almost so, could be transformed into fertile regions by means of artificial irrigation. Where now sheep can barely graze, and at best consumptive-looking pine trees raise their thin arms heavenward, rich crops could grow and a dense population find ample nutriment. It is merely a question of labor whether the vast sand tracts of the Mark, the "holy dust-box of the German Empire," shall be turned into an Eden. The fact was pointed out in an address delivered in the spring of 1894 on the occasion of the agricultural exposition in Berlin.<sup>1</sup> The requisite improvements, canals, provisions for irrigation, mixing of soil, etc., are matters, however, that can be undertaken neither by small nor the large landlords of the Mark. Hence these vast tracts, lying at the very gates of the capital of the Empire, remain in a state of such backward cultivation that it will seem incredible to future generations. Again, a proper canalization would, by draining, reclaim for cultivation vast swamps and marshes in North as well as South Germany. These waterways could be furthermore utilized in raising fish; they could thus be vast sources of food; in neighborhoods where there are no rivers, they would furnish opportunity for commodious bath-houses.

Let a few examples illustrate the effectiveness of irrigation. In the neighborhood of Weissensfeld, 7½ hectares of well-watered meadows produced 480 cwt. of after-grass; 5 contiguous hectares of meadow land of the same quality, but not watered, yielded only 32 cwt. The former had, accordingly, a crop ten times as large as the latter. Near Reisa in Saxony, the irrigation of 65 acres of meadow lands raised their revenue from 5,350 marks to 11,100 marks. The expensive outlays paid. Besides the Mark there are in Germany other vast tracts, whose soil, consisting mainly of sand, yields but poor returns, even when the summer is wet. Crossed and irrigated by canals, and their soil improved, these lands would within a short time yield five and ten times as much. There are examples in Spain of the yield of well-irrigated lands exceeding thirty-seven fold that of others that are not irrigated. Let there be water, and increased volumes of food are conjured into existence.

Where are the private individuals, where the States, able to operate upon the requisite scale? When, after long decades of bitter experience, the State finally yields to the stormy demands of a population that has suffered from all manner of calamities, and only after millions of values have been destroyed, how slow, with what circumspection, how cautious does it proceed! It is so easy to do too much, and the State might by its precipitancy lose the means with which to build some new barracks for the accommodation of a few regiments. Then also, if one is helped "too much," others come along, and also want help. "Man, help yourself and God will help you," thus runs the bourgeois creed. Each for himself, none for all. And thus, hardly a year goes by without once, twice and oftener more or less serious freshets from brooks, rivers or streams occurring in several provinces and States: vast tracts of fertile lands are then devastated by the violence of the floods, and others are covered with sand, stone and all manner of debris; whole orchard plantations, that demanded tens of years for their growth, are uprooted; houses, bridges, dams are washed away; railroad tracks torn up; cattle, not infrequently human beings also, are drowned; soil improvements are carried off; crops ruined. Vast tracts, exposed to frequent inundations, are cultivated but slightly, lest the loss be double.

On the other hand, unskillful corrections of the channels of large rivers and streams—undertaken in one-sided interests, to which the State ever yields readily in the service of "trade and transportation"—increase the dangers of freshets. Extensive cutting down of forests, especially on highlands and for private profit, adds more grist to the flood mill. The marked deterioration of the climate and decreased productivity of the soil, noticeable in the provinces of Prussia, Pomerania, the Steiermark, Italy, France, Spain, etc., is imputed to this vandalic devastation of the woods, done in the interest of private parties.

<sup>1</sup>"The employment of water in the cultivation of fruit as well as of vegetables is highly desirable; water associations with these ends in view could then with all due deserts into paradise." Official report on the Chicago Exposition of 1893, rendered by the Imperial Commissioner, Berlin, 1894.

Frequent freshets are the consequence of the dismantling of mountain woodlands. The inundations of the Rhine, the Oder and the Vistula are ascribed mainly to the devastation of the woods in Switzerland, Galicia and Poland; and likewise in Italy with regard to the Po. Due to the barring of the Carnian Alps, the climate of Trieste and Venice has materially deteriorated. Madeira, a large part of Spain, vast and once luxuriant fields of Asia Minor have in a great measure forfeited their fertility through the same causes.

It goes without saying that Socialist society will not be able to accomplish all these great tasks out-of-hand. But it can and will undertake them, with all possible promptness and with all the powers at its command, seeing that its sole mission is to solve problems of civilization and to tolerate no hindrance. Thus it will in the course of time solve problems and accomplish feats that modern society can give no thought to, and the very thought of which gives it the vertigo.

The cultivation of the soil will, accordingly, be mightily improved in Socialist society, through these and similar measures. But other considerations, looking to the proper exploitation of the soil, are added to these. To-day, many square miles are planted with potatoes, which are to be applied mainly to the distilling of brandy, an article consumed almost exclusively by the poor classes of the population. Liquor is the only stimulant and "care-dispeller" that they are able to procure. The population of Socialist society needs none of that, hence the raising of potatoes and corn for that purpose, together with the labor therein expended, are set free for the production of healthy food.<sup>2</sup> The speculative purposes that our most fertile fields are put to in the matter of the sugar beet for the exportation of sugar, has been pointed out in a previous chapter. About 400,000 hectares of the best wheat fields are yearly devoted to the cultivation of sugar beet, in order to supply England, the United States and Northern Europe with sugar. The countries whose climate favors the growth of sugar cane succumb to this competition. Furthermore, our system of a standing army, the disintegration of production, the disintegration of the means of transportation and communication, the disintegration of agriculture, etc.—all these demand hundreds of thousands of horses, with the corresponding fields to feed them and to raise colts. The completely transformed social and political conditions frees the bulk of the lands that are now given up to these various purposes; and again large areas and rich labor-power are reclaimed for purposes of civilization. Latterly, extensive fields, covering many square kilometers, have been withdrawn from cultivation, being needed for the maneuvering and exercising of army corps in the new methods of warfare and long distance firearms. All this falls away.

The vast field of agriculture, forestry and irrigation has become the subject of an extensive scientific literature. No special branch has been left untouched: irrigation and drainage, forestry, the cultivation of cereals, of leguminous and tuberous plants, of vegetables, of fruit trees, of berries, of flowers and ornamental plants; fodder for cattle raising; meadows; rational methods of breeding cattle, fish and poultry and bees, and the utilization of their excrements; utilization of manure and refuse in agriculture and manufacture; chemical examinations of seeds and of the soil, to ascertain its fitness for this or that crop; investigations in the rotations of crops and in agricultural machinery and implements; the profitable construction of agricultural buildings of all nature; the weather;—all have been drawn within the circle of scientific treatment. Hardly a day goes by without some new discovery, some new experience being made towards improving and ennobling one or other of these several branches. With the work of J. v. Liebig, the cultivation of the soil has become a science, indeed, one of the foremost and most important of all, a science that since then has attained a vastness and significance unique in the domain of activity in material production. And yet, if we compare the fullness of the progress made in this direction with the actual conditions prevailing in agriculture to-day, it must be admitted that, until now, only a small fraction of the private owners have been able to turn the progress to advantage, and among these there naturally is none who did not proceed from the view point of his own private interests, acted accordingly, kept only that in mind, and gave no thought to the public weal. The large majority of our farmers and gardeners, we may say 98 per cent. of them, are in no wise in condition to utilize all the advances made and advantages that are possible; they lack either the means or the knowledge thereto, if not both: as to the others, they simply do as they please. Socialist society finds herein a theoretically and practically well prepared field of activity. It need but to fall to and organize in order to attain wonderful results.

The highest possible concentration of productions affords, of itself, mighty advantages. Hedges, making boundary lines, wagon roads and footpaths between the broken-up holdings are removed, and yield some more available soil. The application of machinery is possible only on large fields: agricultural machinery of fullest development, backed by chemistry and physics could to-day transform unprofitable lands, of which there are not a few, into fertile ones. The application of accumulated electric power to agricultural machinery—plows, harrows, rollers, sowers, mowers, threshers, seed-sorters, chaff-cutters, etc.—is only a question of time. Likewise will the day come when electricity will move from the fields the wagons laden with the crops: draught cattle can be spared. A scientific system of fertilizing the fields, hand in hand with thorough management, irrigation and draining will materially increase the productivity of the land. A careful selection of seeds, proper protection against weeds—in itself a head much sinned against to-day—sends up the yield still higher.

According to Ruhland, a successful war upon cereal diseases would of itself suffice to render superfluous the present importation of grain into Germany.<sup>3</sup> Seeding, planting and rotation of crops, being conducted with the sole end in view of raising the largest possible volume of food, the object is then obtainable.

What may be possible even under present conditions is shown by the management of the Schnitgenberg farm in the Rhenish Palatinate. In 1884 the same fell into the hand of a new tenant, who, in the course of eight years, raised three or four times as much as his predecessor.<sup>4</sup> The said property is situated 320 meters above the level of the sea, 286 acres in size, of which 18 are meadows, and has generally unfavorable soil, 30 acres being sandy, 60 stony; 55 sand loam and 123 hard loam. The new method of cultivation had astonishing results. The crops rose from year to year. The increase during the period of 1884-1892 was as follows per acre:

Product.	1884.	1892.
Rye .....	7.75 cwt.	19.50 cwt.
Wheat .....	3.50 "	15.30 "
Barley .....	12.00 "	18.85 "
Oats .....	7.00 "	18.85 "

The neighboring community of Kiegsfeld, the witness of this marvelous development, followed the example and reached similar results on its own ground. The yield per acre was on an average this:

Product.	1884.	1892.
Wheat .....	10 to 12 cwt.	13 to 18 cwt.
Rye .....	12 to 15 "	15 to 20 "
Oats .....	7 to 9 "	14 to 22 and even 24 "
Barley .....	9 to 11 "	18 to 22 cwt.

Such results are eloquent enough.

The cultivation of fruits, berries and garden will reach a development hardly thought possible. How unparadoxically is being sinned at present in these respects, a look at our orchards will show. They are generally marked by a total absence of proper care. This is true of the cultivation of fruit trees even in countries that have a reputation for the excellence of these; Wurtemberg, for instance. The concentration of stables, depots for implements and manure and methods of feeding—towards which wonderful progress has been made, but which can to-day be applied only slightly—will, when generally introduced, materially increase the returns in raising cattle, and thereby facilitate the procurement of manure. Machinery and implements of all sorts will be there in abundance, very differently from the experience of ninety-nine one hundredths of our modern farmers. Animal products, such as milk, eggs, meat, honey, hair, wool, will be obtained and utilized scientifically.

<sup>2</sup>This prospect seems nearer realization and in a quite different manner than the most far-sighted could have imagined. The discovery of acetylene gas is the point of departure for a long line of products of organic chemistry, that, with proper treatment, can be drawn from it. Among the articles of enjoyment that may be expected to be gained first of all on this path, is alcohol, the production of which promises to be the easiest of all and very cheap, and is expected in but few years. If this succeeds, a large part of the agriculture of the East Prussian district, which depends upon the production of alcohol, will be put in jeopardy. The circumstances will bring on a revolution in the respective agricultural interests that will play mightily into the hands of Socialism. Evidently, what Werner, Siemens and Berthelot held out is approaching reality.

<sup>3</sup>Dr. G. Ruhland, "Die Grundprinzipien aktueller Agrarpolitik."

<sup>4</sup>A petition by Julius Zuna, which finally was not sent to the Reichstag, on the subject of an agrarian investigation.

tifically. The improvements and advantages in the dairy industry reached by the large dairy associations is known to all experts, and ever new inventions and improvements are daily made. Many are the branches of agriculture in which the same and even better can be done. The preparation of the fields and the gathering of the crops are then attended to by large bodies of men, under skilful use of the weather, such as is to-day impossible. Large drying houses and sheds allow crops being gathered even in unfavorable weather, and save losses that are to-day unavoidable, and which, according to v. d. Goltz, often are so severe that, during a particularly rainy year, from eight to nine million marks worth of crops were ruined in Mecklenburg, and from twelve to fifteen in the district of Koenigsberg.

Through the skilful application of artificial heat and moisture on a large scale in structures protected from bad weather, the raising of vegetables and all manner of fruit is possible at all seasons in large quantities. The flower stores of our large cities have in mid-winter floral exhibitions that vie with those of the summer. One of the most remarkable advances made in the artificial raising of fruit is exemplified by the artificial vineyard of Garden-Director Haupt in Brieg, Silesia, which has found a number of imitators, and was itself preceded long before by a number of others in other countries, England among them. The arrangements and the results obtained in this vineyard were so enticingly described in the "Vossische Zeitung" of September 27, 1890, that we have reproduced the account in extracts:

"The glass-house is situated upon an approximately square field of 500 square meters, i. e., one-fifth of an acre. It is 4.5 to 5 meters high, and its walls face north, south, east and west. Twelve rows of double fruit walls run inside due north and south. They are 1.8 meters apart from each other and serve at the same time as supports to the flat roof. In a bed 1.25 meters deep, resting on a bank of earth 25 centimeters strong and which contains a net of drain and ventilation pipes,—a bed "whose hard ground is rendered loose, permeable and fruitful through chalk, rubbish, sand, manure in a state of decomposition, bonedust and potash"—Herr Haupt planted against the walls three hundred and sixty grape vines of the kind which yields the noblest grape juice in the Rhinegau:—white and red Reissling and Tramine, white and blue Moscatelle and Burgundy.

"The ventilation of the place is effected by means of large fans, twenty meters long, attached to the roof, besides several openings on the side-walls. The fans can be opened and shut by means of a lever, fastened on the roof provided with a spindle and winch, and they can be made safe against all weather. For the watering of the vines 26 sprinklers are used, which are fastened to rubber pipes 1.25 meters long, and that hang down from a water tank. Herr Haupt introduced, however, another and ingenious contrivance for quickly and thoroughly watering his 'wine-hall' and his 'vineyard', to wit, an artificial rain producer. On high, under the roof, lie four long copper tubes, perforated at distances of one-half meter. The streams of water that spout upward through these openings strike small round sieves made of window gauze and, filtered through these, are scattered in fine spray. To thoroughly water the vines by means of the rubber pipes requires several hours. But only one faucet needs to be turned by this second contrivance and a gentle refreshing rain trickles down over the whole place upon the grape vines, the beds and the granite flags of the walks. The temperature can be raised from 8 to 10 degrees R. above the outside air without any artificial contrivance, and simply through the natural qualities of the glass-house. In order to protect the vines from that dangerous and destructive foe, the vine louse, should it show itself, it is enough to close the drain and open all the water pipes. The inundation of the vines, thus achieved, the enemy can not withstand. The glass roof and walls protect the vineyard from storms, cold, frost and superfluous rain; in cases of hail, a fine wire-netting is spread over the same; against drought the artificial rain system affords all the protection needed. The vine-dresser of such a vineyard is his own weather-maker, and he can laugh at all the dangers from the incalculable whims and caprices of indifferent and cruel Nature,—dangers that ever threaten with ruin the fruit of the vine cultivator.

"What Herr Haupt expected happened. The vines thrived remarkably under the uniformly warm climate. The grapes ripened to their fullest, and as early as the fall of 1885 they yielded a juice not inferior to that generally obtained in the Rhinegau in point of richness of sugar and slightness of sourness. The grapes thrived equally the next year and even during the unfavorable year of 1887. On this space, when the vines have reached their full height of 5 meters, and are loaded with their burden of swollen grapes, 20 hectoliters of wine can be produced yearly, and the cost of a bottle of noble wine will not exceed 40 pennies.

"There is no reason imaginable why this process should not be conducted upon a large scale like any other industry. Glass-houses of the nature of this one on one-fifth of an acre can be undoubtedly raised upon a whole acre with equal facilities of ventilation, watering, draining and rain-making. Vegetation will start there several weeks sooner than in the open, and the vine-shoots remain safe from May frosts, rain and cold while they blossom; from drought during the growth of the grapes; from pilfering birds and grape thieves and from dampness while they ripen; finally from the vine-louse during the whole year and can hang safely deep into November and December. In his address, held in 1888 to the Society for the Promotion of Horticulture, and from which I have taken many a technical expression in this description of the 'Vineyard', the inventor and founder of the same closed his words with this alluring perspective of the future: 'Seeing that this vine culture can be carried on all over Germany, especially on otherwise barren, sandy or stony ground, such as, for instance, the worst of the Mark, that can be made arable and watered, it follows that the great interests in the cultivation of the soil receive fresh vigor from 'vineyards under glass'. I would like to call this industry 'the vineyard of the future.'

"Just as Herr Haupt has furnished the practical proof that on this path an abundance of fine and healthy grapes can be drawn from the vine, he has also proved by his own pressing of the same what excellent wine they can yield. More thorough, more experienced, better experts and tried wine-drinkers and connoisseurs than myself have, after a severe test, bestowed enthusiastic praise upon the Riesling of the vintage of '88, upon the Tramine and Moscatelle of the vintage of '89, and upon the Burgundy of the vintage of '88, pressed from the grapes of this 'vineyard'. It should also be mentioned that this 'vineyard' also affords sufficient space for the cultivation of other side and twin plants. Herr Haupt raises between every two vines one rose bush, that blossoms richly in April and May; against the east and west walls he raises peaches, whose beauty of blossom must impart in April an appearance of truly fair charm to this wine palace."

The enthusiasm with which the reporter describes this artificial 'vineyard' in a serious paper testifies to the deep impression made upon him by this extraordinary artificial cultivation. There is nothing to prevent similar establishments, on a much more stupendous scale and for other branches of vegetation. The luxury of a double crop is obtainable in many agricultural products. To-day all such undertakings are a question of money, and their products are accessible only to the privileged classes. A Socialist society knows no other question than that of sufficient labor-power. If that is in existence, the work is done in the interest of all.

Another new invention on the field of food is that of Dr. Johann Hundhausen of Hamm in Westphalia, who succeeded in extracting the albumen of wheat—the secret of whose utilization in the legume was not yet known—in the shape of a thoroughly nutritive flour. This is a far-reaching invention. It is now possible to render the albumen of plants useful in substantial form for human food.

The inventor erected a large factory which produces vegetal albumen or aleurone meal from 80 to 83 per cent. of albumen, and a second quality of about 50 per cent. That the so-called aleurone meal represents a very concentrated albuminous food appears from the following comparison with our best elements of nourishment:

	Water	Albumen	Fat	hydrate	Celulose	Salt
Aleurone meal ....	8.83	82.67	0.27	7.01	0.45	0.78
Hen's eggs .....	73.67	12.55	12.11	0.55	0.55	1.12
Beef .....	55.42	17.19	26.58	....	....	1.08

Aleurone meal is not only eaten directly, it is also used as a condiment in all sorts of bakery products, as well as soups and vegetables. Aleurone meal substitutes in a high degree meat preserves in point of nutrition; moreover, it is by far the cheapest albumen obtainable to-day. One kilogram of albumen costs:

In aleurone meal .....	1.45 marks
In white bread or white flour .....	4 to 4.5 "
In hen's eggs, according to the season ..	8 to 16 "
In beef .....	12 to 13 "

Beef, accordingly, is about eight times dearer, as albuminous food, than aleurone meal; eggs five times as dear; white bread or common white flour about three times as dear. Aleurone meal also has the advantage that, with the addition of about one-eighth of the weight of a potato, it not only furnishes a considerable quantity of albumen to the body, but produces a complete digestion of the starch contained in the potato. Dogs, that have a nose for albumen, eat aleurone meal with the same avidity as meat, even if they otherwise refuse bread, and they are then better able to stand hardships.

Aleurone meal, as a dry vegetable albumen, is of great use as food on ships, in fortresses and in military hospitals during war. It renders large supplies of meat unnecessary. At present aleurone meal is a side product in starch factories. Within short, starch will become a side product of aleurone meal. A further result will be that the cultivation of cereals will crowd out that of potatoes and other less productive food plants; the volume of nutrition of a given field of wheat or rye is tripled or quadrupled at one stroke.

Dr. Rudolf Meyer of Vienna, whose attention was called by us to the aleurone meal says<sup>5</sup> that he furnished himself with a quantity of it and had it examined on June 19, 1893, by the bureau of experiments of the Board of Soil Cultivation of the Kingdom of Bohemia. The examination fully confirmed our statements. For further details Meyer's report should be read. Meyer also calls attention to a discovery made by Otto Redemann of Bockenheim near Frankfurt-on-the-Main. After granulating the peanut and removing its oil, he analyzed its component elements of nutrition. The analysis showed 47 per cent. of albumen, 19 of fat and 19 of starch—altogether 2,135 units of nutritious matter in one kilo. According to this analysis the peanut is one of the most nutritious vegetal products. The pharmacist Rud. Simpson of Mohrunger discovered a process by which to remove the bitterness from the lupine, which, as may be known, thrives best on sandy soil, and is used both as fodder and as a fertilizer; and he then produced from it a meal, which, according to expert authority, baked as bread tastes very good, is solid, is said to be more nutritious than rye-bread, and, besides all that, much cheaper.

Even under present conditions a regular revolution is plowing its way in the matter of human food. The utilization of all these discoveries is, however, slow, for the reason that mighty classes—the former element together with its social and political props—have the liveliest interest in suppressing them. To our agrarians, a good crop is to-day a horror—although the same is prayed for in all the churches—because it lowers prices. Consequently, they are no wise anxious for a double and threefold nutritive power of their cereals; it would likewise tend to lower prices. Present society is everywhere at fisticks with its own development.

The preservation of the soil in a state of fertility depends primarily upon fertilization. The obtaining of fertilizers is, accordingly, for future society also one of the principal tasks.<sup>6</sup> Manure is to the soil what food is to man, and just as every kind of food is not equally nourishing to man, neither is every kind of manure of equal benefit to the soil. The soil must receive back exactly the same chemical substances that it gave up through a crop; and the chemical substances especially needed by a certain vegetal must be given to the soil in larger quantities. Hence the study of chemistry and its practical application will experience a development unknown to-day.

Animal and human excrements are particularly rich in the chemical elements that are fittest for the reproduction of human food. Hence the endeavor must be to secure the same in the fullest quantity and cause its proper distribution. On this head too modern society sins grievously. Cities and industrial centers, that receive large masses of foodstuffs, return to the soil but a slight part of their valuable offal.<sup>7</sup> The consequence is that the fields, situated at great distances from the cities and industrial centers, and which yearly send their products to the same, suffer greatly from a dearth of manure; the offal that these farms themselves yield is often not enough, because the men and beasts who live on them consume but a small part of the product. Thus frequently a soil-vandalism is practiced, that cripples the land and decreases the crops. All countries that export agricultural products mainly, but receive no manure back, inevitably go to ruin through the gradual impoverishment of the soil. This is the case with Hungary, Russia, the Danubian Principalities, North America, etc. Artificial fertilizers, guano in particular, indeed substitute the offal of men and beasts; but many farmers can not obtain the same in sufficient quantity; it is too dear; at any rate, it is an inversion of nature to import manure from great distances, while it is allowed to go to waste nearby.

Several years since has the Thomas-slag been recognized as an eminently fit manure for certain soils. The manufacturers, however, who grind the Thomas-slag into flour and carry it to market, have built a ring, and, to the injury of the farming interests who make bitter complaints on that score, they keep the prices high. Thus every progress is crippled by greed in bourgeois society. Another and at present inexhaustible source of fertilizers is offered by the deposits of potash in the province of Saxony and contiguous regions. The Prussian State owns a number of potash works and it also made the attempt to monopolize the industry, to the end of raising the largest possible revenues for the Treasury.

If the opinion of Julius Hensel on the subject of fertilizers proves correct, it will mean a revolution in the theory of fertilization, and a complete saving of the expenses now made for the importation of fertilizers, amounting for guano and Chile saltpeter to 80 to 100 million marks a year.<sup>8</sup> Hensel makes the emphatic claim, and produces numerous proofs of the correctness of his views, that the mineral of our mountains contain an inexhaustible supply of the best fertilizing stuffs. Granite, porphyry, basalt, broken and ground up, spread upon the fields or vineyards and furnished with a sufficiency of water, furnished a fertilizer that excelled all others, even animal and human refuse.<sup>9</sup> These minerals, he claims, contain all the elements for the cultivation of plants: potash, chalk, magnesia, phosphoric, sulphuric and silicic acids, and also hydrochlorides. According to Hensel, the Sudeten, Rieser, Erz, Tichtel, Hartz, Rhone, Vogel, Taunus, Eisel and Weser mountains, the woods of Thuringen, Spessart and Oden had an inexhaustible supply of fertilizers. It will be literally possible to "make bread out of stones." The dust and dirt of our highways also are, according to Hensel, inexhaustible sources of the same blessing. In this matter we are laymen and can not test the correctness of Hensel's theories; a part of them, however, sound most plausible. Hensel charges the manufacturers of and dealers in artificial fertilizers with hostility to his discovery and with systematic opposition, because they would suffer great loss.

<sup>5</sup>Dr. Rudolf Meyer, "Der Kapitalismus sin de siecle."

<sup>6</sup>"There is a prescription for securing the fertility of the fields and perpetual repetition of their produce. If this prescription be consistently carried out it will prove more remunerative than any which has ever been applied in agriculture. It is this: Let every farmer, like the Chinese coolie, who carries a sack of corn or a hundred weight of rapeseed or potatoes, etc., to town, bring back with him as much if possible or more of the ingredients of his field products as he took with him, and restore it to the field which his heat thins of all kinds ought to be collected in storehouses, and prepared for distribution. . . . Governments and town police should take precautions for preventing the loss of these materials by a suitable arrangement of drains and closets."—Liebig's "Chemical Letters."

<sup>7</sup>"Every coolie (in China) who carries his produce to market in the morning, brings home two buckets full of manure on a bamboo rod in the evening. The appreciation of manure goes so far that every one knows how much a man secretes in a day, a month and a year, and the Chinaman considers it more than rude if his guest leaves his house carrying with him a benefit to which his host thinks of all kinds ought to be collected in storehouses, and prepared for distribution. . . . Governments and town police should take precautions for preventing the loss of these materials by a suitable arrangement of drains and closets."—Liebig's "Chemical Letters."

<sup>8</sup>Karl Schober, Address delivered on the agricultural, municipal and national economic significance of city refuse; Berlin, 1877.

<sup>9</sup>"Life, Its Elements and the Means of Its Conservation."

To be Continued.

The publication of "Woman Under Socialism" began on Sunday, May 24, in The Sunday People, and in The Weekly People of May 30. It will appear in serial form in The Sunday and Weekly until completed, when it will be published in book form.



## WEEKLY PEOPLE

3, 4 and 6 New Beade St., New York.  
P. O. Box 1576. Tel. 129 Franklin.

Published every Saturday by the  
Socialist Labor Party.

Subscription rates: Less than 100 copies, 1 cent a copy; 100 to 500 copies, 3/4 cent a copy; 500 or more, 1/2 cent a copy.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York postoffice, July 13, 1900.

As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned, if so desired, and stamps are enclosed.

## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888.....2,068  
In 1892.....21,157  
In 1896.....35,564  
In 1900.....34,191  
In 1902.....53,617

## TO THE WORKING CLASS OF COLORADO!

Fellow Wage-Slaves:—  
The Socialist Labor Party places this day in your hands, through the columns of its official organ, The People, a weapon of priceless value with which to cut your way through to your emancipation.

The weapon, hereby placed in your hands,—the series of authentic documents printed elsewhere in this issue, and amounting to a complete unmasking and crushing indictment of the railroad capitalists, together with all the capitalist political parties,—is of double value. Not only will the weapon enable you to beat down your foes, it will also enable you to cut the ligaments that today hold before the eyes of the bulk of our fellow wage-slaves the scales that blind them to their own interests. Members, bleeding members of the working class, consequently, the natural allies of the militant workmen, they, nevertheless, and due to lack of information, constitute to-day the valuable trainbands of our common exploiters. Their intellectual emancipation is requisite for our common emancipation from the bondage of wage-slavery. The weapon of facts and unearthen secrets hereby placed in your hands this day will be found priceless in both respects.

As to the power the weapon will give you over our common exploiters, you know that the stripping from an enemy the mask that he screens himself behind, unnerves him. "Law and Order" is the mask of the capitalist. We know it is but a mask. The documents placed in your hands strip the mask from him. In their light he stands convicted.

As to the power this weapon will give you to enlighten the still benighted wage-slaves of your State, you know their common superstition. They still cling to the delusion that the old political parties are parties of the "whole people." They still fail to perceive that those parties are but the political arms of the economic body that fleeces them in the shop. The documents hereby placed in your hands should be powerful enough to dispel the illusion. Your fellow Colorado wage-slaves will there detect the check-by-jowl relations existing between the political office-holders and capitalist labor-fleecers; they will understand, what before seemed a puzzle, the readiness of Republican and Democratic Governors to furnish the militia in order to browbeat their suffering employees on strike, and of Judges and others to hold the miscreants free. Ocularly enlightened on the "puzzle," your fellow wage-slaves must wheel in line with their militant brothers.

The facts herein made public were known to all well posted people. The documents prove them beyond cavil. Similar conditions are well known to prevail everywhere else in the country. From the authentic facts concerning Colorado, as the yet unauthenticated facts concerning all the other States may be closely gauged.

Accordingly, not to the working class of Colorado alone, but to the working class of the whole country is commended the weapon in question. Forged out of truest metal in the smithy of the Socialist Labor Party's intense convictions and earnestness, it is now placed in the hands of all. None but a Socialist Labor Party man could have done this piece of work for his class: collected the documents from their hidden corners; none but the Socialist Labor Party press could dare, by publishing them, place them in the hands of the American proletariat. For this it takes the men and the organization, that, standing un-

shakably upon sound ground and unshakably animated by the justice of their cause, reck not the numbers against them or their own, but unflinchingly do their task—the enlightening, the equipping, the drilling of their class for the fulfillment of its historic mission, the overthrow of capitalism, the emancipation of the working class, the rearing of the Socialist Republic.

## BLOODSHED IN PANAMA.

Capital is said by a Quarterly Reviewer to fly turbulence and strife, and to be timid, which is very true; but this is very incompletely stating the question. Capital eschews no profit, or very small profit, just as Nature was formerly said to abhor a vacuum. With adequate profit, capital is very bold. A certain 10 per cent. will ensure its employment anywhere; 20 per cent. will produce eagerness; 50 per cent., positive audacity; 100 per cent. will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent., and there is not a crime at which it will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its own being hanged. If turbulence and strife will bring a profit, it will freely encourage both.

—P. J. Dunning.

The State of Panama in the Republic of Colombia is now the scene of turbulence, strife and bloodshed. This is nothing uncommon. Uncommon, however, is the circumstance that the present revolution is not cried down by our Democratic and Republican press. Uncommon is the circumstance that the present revolution is not used as a text for hypocritical and self-sufficient sermonizations on the superiority of the "Anglo Saxon" race. Still more uncommon is the circumstance that this revolution, for once, is talked of in most sympathetic strains by these otherwise decrifiers of "turbulence." All this is fit to puzzle him who is in the habit of thinking. If, however, besides the habits of thinking, one is possessed of the quality of "putting two and two together," another set of facts will occur to him, which, joined to the first, will incandescence and throw upon the subject a light of many volts.

This other set of facts is that for several weeks rumors began to leak out at Washington about a pending uprising in Panama; furthermore that these rumors proceeded from quarters interested in the Panama Canal project; finally, that United States battle ships were handy when the "uprising" took place, plenty of arms and ammunitions were furnished from these sources, and that they joined and even promoted the "uprising," pushing it to the point of a "declaration of independence," that is, secession by the State of Panama from the Colombian Republic. The two sets of facts join into a flash light across the stage.

Unquestionably, the Isthmus should be cut through. Unquestionably commerce, that is, human facilities of intercourse would thereby be promoted. It is not that, however, that is instigating the Panama Canal scheme. Other canals could be cut, across Nicaragua, for instance. But the elements, headed by Mark Hanna, who sought, and have not yet desisted in their endeavors, to loot the Federal Treasury for their Ship Subsidy bill, have in this Panama Canal project a scheme of jobs and loot that throws the Ship Subsidy bill into the shade. For the promotion of intercourse between nations, for any such and other noble purposes these men have neither eye nor thought. Their eye and thought are upon profit. They forced their Panama scheme through Congress with the aid of a series of artificial earthquakes in Nicaragua, gotten up in the papers that they control, so as to defeat the Nicaragua plan by making it seem unsafe. Arrived at that point, they saw, not 100 per cent., nor yet merely 300 per cent. profit. They saw 500 and 1000 per cent. If 100 per cent. will make the capitalist ready "to trample on all human laws," if 300 per cent. will screw them up to the pitch where there "is not a crime at which he will scruple, nor a risk he will not run, even to the chance of his being hanged,"—what must not have been the crime-driven pitch reached by the Panama Canal capitalists in sight of 500 and 1000 per cent. profit! Such was their poise when the Government at Bogota, substantially no better than they, put a spoke into their wheels by rejecting their treaty. A tigress robbed of its cubs is the picture suggested by the frame of mind of the Panama Canal capitalists at the conduct of the Government at Bogota. The rest is obvious. The Government at Washington, being a capitalist Government promptly obeyed the impulse of the Panama Canal capitalists.

The result is the turbulence, strife and bloodshed now in Panama. The result is the "indignant uprising" at the Isthmus and its secession from Colombia.

American capitalists, gorged with the plunder from the American working class, has its appetite whetted for more plunder, still larger profits. These being in sight, it does not scruple to raise sedition abroad, to trample over human lives and to heap up more crimes upon its crime-laden head.

The "independence" of Panama, with all its accompanying deeds of violence is but a "business move" gotten up in the back parlors of American capitalists, Republican and Democratic, whose elbow can not be strengthened except by bending still lower the backs of the American working class.

## DEVERY.

"Chief" Devery, "Big Chief," "Big Bug" Devery has not lived in vain, if his fate is but known to heart. The gentleman weighs over 350 pounds, yet he is worth his weight in gold for the lesson he teaches.

William Devery was until two years ago a power. His voice, his views, his vote, his bulk carried weight in Tammany. Now? None so poor to do him reverence. What happened?

Devery fell out of touch with a leading principle that civilization raises and enforces,—the principle of the impotence of the individual and the omnipotence of organization,—the principle of the weakness of isolated and the strength of co-operative effort. Out of touch with this principle, Devery imagined that the weight he carried in Tammany was as individually a part of him as his toenails. Proceeding from such a notion, he imagined that wherever he was the same Devery would be, wielding equal power, carrying equal weight, representing equal strength. The Devery delusion marks the barbarian's infant mind. The Devery of Tammany was not William Devery. It was a thread in a cable made up of many other threads, organized into one component new body, co-operating and co-operated with by many other threads, some weaker, some stronger than itself, and all twisted and shaped into a powerful cable,—the Tammany organization. Of all this Devery knew nothing. His barbarian infant's mind appropriated and imputed to himself the strength of the Devery thread in the Tammany cable. Full of this vision he "pulled out" and started to "smash up." The smashed up Devery, that the election returns threw up on election night, tell the instructive tale.

As with Tammany so with all other organizations; as with Devery so with all other individuals. The individual, valuable tho' he may be, counts for little. He may even be a hindrance to himself. In co-operation man is emancipated from the restricting fetters of his individualism and unfolds the latent capabilities of his species.

Of this fact William Devery furnishes an optical proof on the political field. The principle that underlies the proof is the principle that is leading and pushing the human race to the Co-operative or Socialist Republic.

## WHO TOOK IT?

The estimates forwarded on the first of the month by Postmaster General Payne to the Treasury for transmission to Congress of appropriations needed during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, reveal a deficit of \$8,613,709 for the current fiscal year. The question comes, Who pocketed that deficit?

Will the deficit have been pocketed by the hard-worked, spied upon and harassed letter carrier?—Hardly! He is underpaid, even when he has reached the top notch possible of salary in the Department.

Will the deficit have been pocketed by the girls who work in the bagging department?—Hardly! The much denounced sweat shops of the Lower East Side would often blush with shame at the shops and the conditions prevalent there. Starvation wages and unsanitary conditions "to reduce expenses" are the order of the day for those girls.

Will the deficit have been pocketed by the railroad employees engaged in transporting the mails?—Still less likely! The declining wage of these public servants would rather point to a "surplus" in the Post Office Department.

Who, then, pocketed the deficit? Someone must have got it. It surely did not fly off sky-ward. Unquestionably it flowed pocket-ward for some one. Who is that some one?

The parties that pocketed the deficit, after having pocketed the lion's share of the actual appropriations, are the railroad magnates, who hold the country by

the throat, whose representatives make the appropriations and then distribute these among the railroad looters of the Federal Treasury. The parties that alone are considered in the appropriations, not being satisfied with that plunder, are accommodated with a "deficit" to boot. They it is who profit, while the workers in all the departments are kept with their noses ever closer to the grindstone, and are sweated to reduce the "deficits."

And yet the P. O. is nationalized? Yes, and for that very reason. The P. O., like the Government, is the property of the capitalist class. As this appropriations and deficits-swallowing class owns the Government, it inevitably owns the P. O. too,—and owns it as it would any other of its plants, for private profit at the expense of the working class.

The Labor Movement demands the ownership of the Government by the Working Class. It demands the working-classization of Government. When that is done, and not before, will "deficits" cease, for the reason that graft and plunder are then impossible.

## THE LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN'S MAGAZINE AND RETRENCHMENT.

The Locomotive Firemen's Magazine for November is in a puzzled and apprehensive state of mind regarding railroad retrenchment. It asks "What's Up?" and then expresses the belief that "something is brewing; but what is brewing is not disclosed." It finds many contradictions in the situation. Railroad earnings are increased, yet railroad securities are being hammered down by Wall street manipulators to panic quotations. "Prosperity is said to be over," and yet "our prospects were never brighter and the railroads are preparing for a car shortage and freight blockade before the holidays reach us." "What is the purpose of this Wall street jugglery?" asks the Firemen's Magazine, despairingly. No direct answer is made to this question, but its very asking, together with certain newspaper clippings that are reproduced, make clear the Magazine's attitude on the question. It is this: Retrenchment is simply "Wall street jugglery" in the interests of the capitalist class.

Let it be admitted for the sake of argument that this attitude is the correct one, and let it be asked what does it denote? Is the Firemen's Magazine aware of what it denotes?

Before answering these questions it is necessary to point out that the Firemen's Magazine believes in the pure and simple form of trades unionism. This form of trades unionism asserts that capital and labor—or employer and employee—are partners with identical interests, and that pure and simple trades unionism is powerful enough to control the combinations of capital in their attacks on labor. That such control should be necessary between "partners" is an inconsistency that must be overlooked just now. Assertions are being dealt with now.

To return to the answers of the questions propounded: This "Wall street jugglery" denotes first that the pure and simple assertion regarding the partnership of capital and labor is a fraud. Else why should the capitalist class—"Wall street"—stands for no other class—want to subjugate the working class by means of the privation and destitution following in the wake of retrenchment? Second, the "Wall street jugglery" denotes that the pure and simple assertion regarding the power of its union is also a fraud. If it were not, could the capitalist class toss the working class like a cork on the crest of the wave of its interests, as it is doing? Lastly, this "Wall street jugglery" denotes the tremendous economic power of the capitalist class of this country; a power that can be used without let or hindrance to plunge the country into poverty and destitution in order that the capitalist class may profit thereby. And the Firemen's Magazine upholds this tremendous power by upholding the capitalist theory that capitalists and laborers are partners with mutual interests. There are no mutual interests between the sandbagged and the sandbagger.

The manner in which Germany is lining up with Russia, indicates that she favors dividing the plunder with the party that can keep the "open door" closed.

The Iron League strike creates the impression that the trust and the builders are still fighting for the spoils and the Parkers aren't all jailed yet.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe. Subscription price: 50 cents per year; 25 cents for six months. Address Weekly People, 2-6 New Beade street, New York City.

The Socialist campaign will only end with the abolition of capitalism. On with the work.

Edward Atkinson has got a new idea. It is strike insurance. He claims it will solve the labor question. Some years ago Atkinson went around the country with a cook stove, which he claimed would accomplish the same result. Two solutions for the same problem, both of which are no good, is too much work for the mentality of one man. Atkinson needs a rest or else the strain will prove fatal.

Socialist education is necessary to progress in 1904. Push the S. L. P. press.

Strikes for increase of wages were all the rage this time last year. Strikes against reductions in wages are the rage now. Time change and strikes change with them.

The continued failures in banking all over the country do not give comfort to the theory that bank failures are isolated occurrences.

The workers will "stand pat" so long as capitalism offers hope. There will be less hope next year.

The clashes between Socialist factions are often urged as proof of the impossibility of Socialism. Watch the struggles of the capitalist factions. Does any capitalist believe them to be proof of the impossibility of capitalism?

Socialist "intolerance" is said to demonstrate that Socialism is a dream. Did the good people who believe this note the failure of the Booth family to become reconciled at the funeral of Eva Booth Tucker? Do they believe that this religious intolerance demonstrates that Christianity is a dream?

Steel Trust salaries are to be "equalized." This does not mean that they will be increased until they equal those of ex-President Schwaab. Not by a long shot! It simply means that the steel trust managers are employing euphony to let those whose salaries are reduced down easy.

The friends of Boudin, the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist," candidate, are hard pressed for excuses for his injunctive course. They now claim he did nothing unlawful in signing the injunctive papers. But he did something decidedly unsocialistic. As a capitalist Boudin is all right; as a Socialist he's a fraud and all wrong.

"Buckle on the armor for 1904" is the Socialist Labor Party watchword now.

In closing his sermon in St. George's Church Sunday morning the Rev. Dr. W. S. Rainsford asked his congregation to give liberally to the collection, for, he said: "You are giving to the poor of the city, and I fear that there will be more poor and suffering families in our midst this winter than ever before."

Rainsford is J. P. Morgan's pastor. J. P. evidently tipped him off.

The correspondence columns of The People show that the Socialist needs of the hour are grasped; and in a practical way of realization.

The depopulation question is again agitating France. A great many solutions are proposed. None of them, however, involves a change from capitalism to a system whose economic conditions will permit of the rearing of children. Until this solution is provided, depopulation will continue to agitate France.

Mexican bank failures are increasing in number. The industrial depression is now on in Germany, Russia, England, the United States and Mexico.

The "New York Commercial" says, in its "Railroad Notes":

"An official of one of the largest equipment companies is quoted as saying that the retrenchment on the part of the railroads is due to the influence of banking houses backing the railroads, who advised caution in view of a possible falling off in traffic."

Judging from the failures for October, the railroads were not ill-advised.

The Socialistiche Arbeiter Zeitung, the German organ of the Socialist Labor Party, in its issue of Nov. 7, publishes a translation of the trade article "The Iron Molders," which originally appeared in The People. Copies of this issue should be circulated among German iron molders. The article cannot fail to interest them.

The manner in which Germany is lining up with Russia, indicates that she favors dividing the plunder with the party that can keep the "open door" closed.

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## THE BUFFER PUNCTURED

The vote of the so-called Socialist party in Massachusetts this year is of determining importance to the Socialist Movement in America.

With the campaign of 1890 in this State, a struggle started that reached its crisis on the night of July 10, 1899, in this city. Before 1890 there was in existence a crazy thing that called itself the Socialist Labor Party. It had its minor nerve centers in several outlying cities but its main and controlling center was the Volkszeitung corporation in this city. The corporation consisted, as it consists to-day, of bourgeois interests—small dealers, money lenders, labor fakirs, beer saloon keepers, and sundry "intellectuals," the ashbarrel refuse of the German criminal classes, etc. This element knew of Socialism but the phrases, and was, as it is yet, animated by dislike and even hatred for America. Among them the term "Americaner" was and is synonymous with scamp. To this body, a political party of pretended superior aspirations, little as the body understood these, was mental solace; moreover, such a party was a necessary adjunct to the business interests of the body and corporation. Thus arose the Socialist Labor Party. Needless to say its career was one of alternate imbecility and corruption. Advertisements of capitalist political candidates were taken; labor fakirs were boomed for a consideration; bogus strikes were set up and bonafide ones, when started by non-German workmen of the Volkszeitung coterie were browbeaten; moneys were solicited and accepted from the old parties, etc., etc.—in short the interests of Labor were betrayed and Socialism was rendered ridiculous. In the campaign of 1890 a new element came in and took control. The old element sought to overcome the new by corrupt blandishments. It failed and the struggle started. On July 10, 1899, the crash came and the two elements parted company, the new preserving the Party's name—Socialist Labor Party—and its English organ.

The line of cleavage was the clean and the unclean Socialist elements. With the Socialist Labor Party went all the elements, of various races and nationalities, that recognized the fact that, this being America, the battleground had to be this country, and the methods the advanced ones, that American civilization furnished; with the Volkszeitung corporation there remained the exclusively alien element that was too ignorant of Socialism and the land to appreciate American opportunities, and consequently despised them. The result was that while the former element spoke and wrote English, the latter was tongue and penitent. What to do to save its low "dignity"? It began by importing from distant States such English spokesmen and penmen as are purchasable in such cases. But even that could not suffice. It knew that here, in this city, it could draw only upon such limited German and Yiddish elements that were inaccessible to English print. It needed an English vote; it needed a buffer. The armory-building Carey Socialist party of Massachusetts furnished the thing. The Volkszeitung corporation quickly merged with Careyism in Massachusetts, and always keeping control of the combine, shoved the Massachusetts vote forward. The Massachusetts vote of the so-called Socialist party served as a buffer for the Volkszeitung corporation, also as a veneer of "Americanism." That fly-paper vote grew steadily for three years and it even sent three representatives to the Bay State Legislature. The Volkszeitung corporation political swindle seemed to prosper; the corporation imagined itself on the highway to success.

Such was the lay of the land when the last elections took place. The buffer collapsed, as it had to. The hurrah clothing methods don't work in Socialism. The 33,000 votes dropped by over 25 per cent., two of the three former seats in the Legislature were lost.

With the Socialist Labor Party, votes are a secondary consideration. Education is of primary thought. Even if the S. L. P. were wholly stripped of its vote, the Truth it stands for would remain; the Party would remain undaunted in the field; and in the fullness of time would bend the spheres obedient thereto. Not so with the Volkszeitung-controlled "Socialist" party. With it, votes are all. It had no other argument why it should be supported than its ever increasing "big vote," and to increase this it sacrificed all principle and dignity. Stripped of its English vote in Massachusetts, such a concern stands naked; and when the vote of such a concern drops, it is no retrievable accident, it is the beginning of the reeling of the tide, that will ebb never to return,—as happened with Populism and so many other such flashes in the political pan.

For these reasons the vote of the so-called Socialist party of Massachusetts was pivotal, for this reason its downfall is of determining significance. The absurdity of a political Movement in any country being dominated by an alien, an offensively alien element is preposterous. Such was the case with this so-called Socialist party Movement. It was a preposterous sight to see the offensively alien Volkszeitung corporation stalk as the "deus ex machina" of a Socialist party in America. The buffer once in full retreat how much longer can the buffed Volkszeitung corporation impede the progress of bonafide Socialism in America? None better than the Volkszeitung corporation knows that its day of rout now draws near; and the sickness in its stomach is betrayed in its papers.

November 3, 1903, marks an epoch.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I have been reading up on the class struggle.

UNCLE SAM—That's good.

B. J.—But I find it is too narrow.

U. S.—How would you broaden it?

B. J.—The strict class struggle draws the line between wage earners and capitalists.

U. S.—Correct.

B. J.—I don't think that's right or sound. The line should be drawn between the toilers and the non-toilers.

U. S.—For instance?

B. J.—The clerk of a groceryman is a toiler, but the groceryman himself toils also. Under the strict principle of the class struggle, the line is drawn between the two, placing the clerk on one side with other workers, and the toiling groceryman on the other, and together with the Depews, Vanderbilts, Goulds, Count Castellane, etc. Now that is all wrong—

U. S.—How would you fix it?

B. J.—I would place the toiling groceryman on the same side of the line with all other toilers, whether wage earners or not, and on the other side the idlers and spongers.

U. S.—If you did so you would pretty soon get all mixed up: just as mixed as if you placed the strawberry and the daisy in the same botanical family. The two grow close to the ground, etc., yet they belong to two wholly distinct families. Again, the strawberry grows on a lowly bush, the apple on a stately tree; upon your principle of classifying the toiling groceryman separately from the Vanderbilts, you would put the strawberry and the apple in different families; fact is, that they are of one and the same family.

B. J.—You don't say so!

U. S.—Yes. The mouse is a little animal, the elephant a big one; you would classify them separately; yet the fact is that the elephant and the mouse are one family.

B. J. (with increased astonishment)—Yes?

U. S.—Yes. What determines the kinship between plants and animals is, not appearance, but some fundamental fact that typifies them. Now, the fundamental fact that typifies the toiling small groceryman is not his toiling; other people toil with whom you would not rank the toiling groceryman; pickpockets toil, and toil hard; stock brokers toil, and toil hard. The fundamental fact that typifies the toiling groceryman is that he is in possession of property, whereby he can, and does, just as the big capitalist, squeeze labor out of another human being; and the typifying feature of the groceryman's clerk is that, being stripped of all property whereby to earn his own living, he is bound to sell himself to the man who has such property. It is upon those lines that the economic classes are separated. To blur that line is to open the doors for all sorts of false steps; hence so many "reform" parties that jump up and collapse.

B. J.—Yes, yes; and yet it seems to me that the groceryman has a hard time of it.

U. S.—No doubt; and yet no harder than many a pirate who, being caught, was hanged to the yardsarms of his own ship. If the groceryman has sense—and what is said of him is said of the whole middle class—he would simply throw in his lot with the proletariat, but to do that he must accept proletarian economics, instead of doing what the middle class now try to do, to join the proletariat by forcing upon it middle class economics—"coal planks a la Democratic party," "public ownership of public utilities," etc. Only then is there help for the sinking middle class.

B. J.—Hm! I now see it in another light. This middle class wants to lie together with the proletariat, provided the proletariat is willing to lie inside the stomach of the middle class. Eh?

U. S.—You got it now.

There is a likelihood that the 1,000 toll large canal referendum will be overthrown. The opponents of the canal are urging the repeal of the law authorizing its construction. As they have the State constitution and the incoming legislature on their side, they will succeed. The referendum, without a favorably inclined force behind it, is valueless. A working class referendum without a working class government to enforce it, would be valueless to working class interests.

A Philadelphia lawyer wants Judge Fitzpatrick impeached because he is a corporation president and a corporation judge. These lawyers ought to go slow. Corporation judges are so plentiful that the bench will be depleted if impeachment becomes the order of the day.



## CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, RESERVE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

## THE IMPORTANT THING FOR SOCIALISTS TO DO.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—To the men enlisted for the arduous work of the Social Revolution each passing election brings its lesson. To my mind the lesson of the election just passed is the need for more constructive work. The capitalist parties now favor short hurrah campaigns in which to perplex the voters and then lead them to the ballot box without time for reflection. We must not fall into the "short campaign" habit.

In the last few weeks we carried on a great outdoor agitation. Our speakers were applauded, our literature eagerly sought, and all that; but it is only a passing excitement with the crowd. There are few men who can grasp anything like a knowledge of Socialism from hearing a speaker at a street meeting, or by reading one leaflet, and if the audience does not again come into contact with our agitation its ardor is likely to cool.

Street meetings are no doubt a necessity. It is well to let the people see what manner of men we are, but too much dependence should not be placed on word of mouth agitation. Printed agitation is the pre-eminent means for spreading the light and I hope to see the time when we will distribute more literature in January than in October.

It may be objected that the voters do not want to be bothered with politics except around election time. Now this is just the purpose aimed at by the capitalist parties in their "short campaigns" cry. It does not hold with us. S. L. P. propaganda is entirely different from the halibut politics that are meant when this objection is raised. Even if the objection was sound, it would only be one more obstacle among the many that must be overcome, before we bring about the unconditional surrender.

The cheering thing for us is the slump in the bogus Socialist vote. Votes are the stock in trade of the so-called Socialist party and the loss of votes will force it into bankruptcy.

The important work before us is the buttressing of the party press, so as to weather the coming storm—the crisis. Better to-day than 100,000 votes would be 50,000 readers of The Weekly People, and we can get them. One half the energy displayed in the heat of the last campaign, if properly directed, can push The Weekly People circulation to the 50,000 notch. Let the comrades of New York, the proletarian center of the nation, set the pace in the work so that when the workers at last awaken they may be guided aright.

John Hossack.  
Jersey City, N. J., Nov. 4.

## "DE LEONISM" IN BELGIUM.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I send you a few lines herewith on the election held in Belgium on the 10th of October, to show how the Kangaroos of this country are "progressing." At last year's election the vote cast in the city of Antwerp, where I live, was 9,427. This year, 3,000.

All over the country they have lost thousands upon thousands of votes, and many of their representatives thereby thrown out of office, their places being secured by Catholics and Liberals. In many cities where these Socialists made alliances with Liberals not one office was thereby gained.

I cannot tell exactly how many thousands of votes have been lost all over the country because their own papers do not give the number. They only say they have received a setback.

Three weeks ago I went to Maline where a new co-operative corporation was being formed. Different speakers from different cities were present. They all referred to the co-operative corporation as the only salvation for Socialism. One thousand persons were present from all parts of the country.

Ansel was the chief orator of the Kangaroos. When the speakers had finished I asked for the floor. I said: "Gentlemen, I do not come here to disturb your feast. I come here as a 'De Leonite' to protest against the action of Ansel at the Paris International Congress in voting in favor of the resolution of Kautsky."

You can imagine I gave it to them. When I concluded no one had anything to say. Ansel, himself, admitted I was in the right.

Three Socialists from Antwerp, whom I did not know were present. They asked different persons in the audience for information on what I had said. They received no satisfaction as no one could tell them anything about "De Leonism."

I left Maline at 10 p. m. and met the three gentlemen at the station. They asked me if I would explain the meaning of my speech to them. This I did. They then invited me to attend a Socialist meeting at Berchem, there to explain the American situation and "De Leonism" to them. I answered them that I would with the greatest of pleasure because I am a fighter for the S. L. P. and will stay in it as long as I live. Three cheers for the S. L. P.

Your International Comrade,  
N. VanKerkvoorde.  
Antwerp, Belgium, Oct. 25, 1903.

## THE WORKING CLASS WILL LEARN.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Let me congratulate the comrades wherever there has been an election. Although we did not secure as many votes as last year there is no cause for discouragement. The fight is on. Our principles are straight and we must go right ahead, steadfast and true to both the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. The wage slaves will learn in the hard winter to come and the one to follow.

Yours for the cause,  
Adam Marx.  
New London, Conn., Nov. 5.

## AGITATION IN COLORADO.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Our State Organizer, Philip Veal, has been in this (Mesa) County, Col. for several days, holding street meetings in Grand Junction and Palisade, stirring the working class to action, and on Thursday, Oct. 22, our State Secretary, Charles H. Chase, of Denver, arrived in Grand Junction, and stayed with us until the 27th, rendering some valuable service in the way of street speaking. On Sunday afternoon, Oct. 25, we held a splendid meeting in the Grand Junction City Park. Three hundred people or more attended this meeting, and stayed to the end.

Comrade Veal, the first speaker, spoke for nearly an hour on the difference between the new and the old trades union. His address was a great eye-opener, and the greatest address ever delivered in Grand Junction on trades unionism. He held the closest attention of every person within the sound of his voice.

Last, but not least, Charles H. Chase, our State Secretary, who is a splendid-looking, well-developed, average-sized young man of but 22, as sound mentally as the soundest, and morally pure and clean, was our next and last speaker. We want to say that if this young man grows in strength and power as an orator as he grows in years, the time is not far distant when this smooth-faced boy will be known as the Wendell Phillips of the present revolution. Such talking from so young a man we had never heard before, and when the meeting was over a Republican from Iowa came up in the band stand that was used for the speakers' stand, and said he had been a Republican all his life, but our speakers had opened his eyes, and he was now ready for a change.

This was the greatest S. L. P. meeting ever held in Grand Junction, and one long to be remembered by all who attended it.

Section Mesa County will be in good trim for the fight of 1904, and as Comrade Chase has gone away, we expect him to return in time to open up the fight in Grand Junction in the early spring.

Fraternally, S. B. Hutelinson,  
Organizer Sec. Mesa Co., S. L. P.

## THE SECRET OF GETTING SUBS.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Enclosed find four subs. for The Weekly. We have just found out how to get subs. The secret is this: Stop all worrying and planning how to get them, but just take some leaflets and books and a sample copy of The Weekly and step out on the streets. There is your field. There you can find the men you are looking for. You will find them sitting on doorsteps. You will find them lounging on corners. You meet them coming from and going to work. Even on Sundays. In fact you have some times to walk edgewise to get through the crowds of them.

Now, seeing the field is so handy why can we not get subs.? I think many of the comrades are in the same fix that I was until the last few months. I imagined that in order to get subs. a man must be a slick talker, which I know I am not, and therefore I dreaded the thought of soliciting. Finally, much as I dreaded it, through a mere sense of duty I resolved to tackle it and stick to it.

At first it would make me feel discouraged to be turned down time after time, but I soon got used to it. Of course I do not claim to be able to give advice to comrades, but one thing I know from experience and that is if you want to get subs. you must make up your mind to go after them, and don't mind even if you should be turned down a hundred times in succession.

Fraternally,  
G. A. Jennings.  
East St. Louis, Ill., Nov. 3.

## THE RIGHT SPIRIT.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Section Somerville will do its share in having the party's plant free of debt before our next National convention.

A. Quarastrom.  
Somerville, Mass., Nov. 11.

## A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRAFTER.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Last night we held a meeting at Getty square. It was the best this year. There were about 1,000 workmen listening to our local speakers. Each speaker received the stirring applause of the vast audience for every point scored. We started our meeting at 8 o'clock sharp, something that never happened before as we heretofore had to wait in order to gather an audience.

But I do not intend to make a report of the meeting. There is one thing that happened in connection with it, however,

that I want to dwell on. About 10 p. m., a bogus Socialist, G. Lehner, the manager of the "Labor World" came hopping along while Comrade Gaffney was speaking and stopped spell-bound alongside of me. After he had recovered he said, "Gaffney is doing fine." I answered: "Yes. That's the way the straight S. L. P. develops its members."

The bogus Socialist, Lehner, then asked if I had seen this week's "Labor World." I answered: "No. I have been unable to get it as the newsdealer did not receive it."

Lehner then told me that it could be had. He also stated he had read my letter in THE PEOPLE of Oct. 19 and admitted that he was out for all the graft he could get. He said that he was now getting graft from the Republicans, Democrats, Social Democrats, and trades unionists but he had not received any from the S. L. P. He said he was squeezing them all.

Lehner is a fine specimen of the Kangaroo animal known as the Social Democrat. He is candidate for assembly of the Social Democratic party.

The front page of this week's "Labor World" bears out Lehner's statement as to graft. It contains the full tickets of the Republicans, Democrats, Social Democrats besides those that have been in the past two weeks and were mentioned in my letter of Oct. 19.

Peter Jacobson.  
Yonkers, N. Y., Nov. 1.

## A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—One of our comrades up here says that with the price of labor coming down the price of merchandise will come down. I told him I did not think the price of merchandise would come down. Everything is nearly well concentrated and the new competition between the trust will not allow the trust to reduce the price of merchandise.

The new competition as I see it is that each trust will try to pay as little for labor and yet as much as possible for merchandise.  
C. C. Crolly.  
Pleasantville, N. Y., Nov. 4.

## THE COLUMBUS BREWERY STRIKE.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—It is necessary for me to refer to an article which appeared in The People, with reference to the late brewery strike of Columbus, O., which was written by me. In that article I asked the editor of the Brewers Zeitung if it were not a fact that he, during the strike, presented himself before the strikers with an agreement which purported to have emanated from the bosses, which agreement provided that it should be binding for three years, and that during those three years the brewery workers were not permitted to belong to any other union outside of the A. F. of L.

During the progress of the strike I made continual inquiries while passing to and from my work. I had an opportunity to interview the pickets who were on duty; they, together with the daily papers kept me pretty well informed, and upon such information I wrote up the strike.

After my first article appeared in The People, and after the strike was settled,

Adam Reus, a member of the Brewers' Union, came to me and asked if I knew the writer of that article and stated that the editor of the Brewers Zeitung had accused him of having written it. I informed him that I would correct the misapprehension of the editor of the Brewers Zeitung and advise him that I was the writer of said article. It was at this interview, and not during the strike, that Mr. Reus gave me the information about the agreement referred to, without any intention, upon his part, that it should be made public.

Mr. Reus now claims that I have misquoted him and requests that I do him the favor of giving this statement to The People.

Mr. Reus has been wrongfully and unjustly accused of the authorship of that article, and, by reason of such accusation will suffer suspension from his union.

In justice to him I wish to state positively that he had nothing whatever to do with the preparation or publication of the article aforesaid.

Otto Steinhoff.  
Columbus, O., Nov. 1.

## THE MOVEMENT IN NEW BRITAIN.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—We have received circular and letter from circulating department. We have already bought one block of twenty paid up blanks from our State Committee and will get more as soon as we can get rid of them. It certainly is the best plan ever conceived by the Party and will and must be a success.

I am at present working hard to circulate the "Arbetaren" and have succeeded in getting some ads. for it, and will endeavor to get more, but am not going to lay idle as far as working for The People goes.

We have organized a Scandinavian Discussion Club which has endorsed the Alliance and the Party in its adopted constitution and is organized to push S. L. P. propaganda especially amongst the Scandinavians. It promises to be a success.

Yours for the S. L. P.  
D. Carlson.  
New Britain, Conn., Nov. 1.

## ALL HANDS, TAKE A HOLD.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Enclosed find order for one block of subs. and money order for \$5. This makes five blocks purchased so far by New Haven Section. We intend to keep the good work up right along.

There is no reason why every section in the United States and Canada should not take hold and push the circulation of The Weekly People. Do not let the comrades relax in their energies after buying a block or two of subs. but keep right at it.

The fact must be impressed upon the minds of the comrades in the S. L. P. of the importance of taking hold and increasing the circulation of our Party Press. Now let every one take hold and our task will be easy to accomplish.

Stodel.  
New Haven, Conn., Nov. 2.

## BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

The week ending November 7 was another good week for subscriptions. The total is above the four hundred mark. Four hundred a week is still a low figure. The suggestion of a comrade who writes to The People that the best way to prepare for the campaign of 1904, is to run up the circulation of the Weekly People to fifty thousand, is a good one. Every section, now that we have more time for the work, after the campaign, should turn out and hustle for subscribers, with the fifty thousand mark as the goal. Request your shopmates and acquaintances to subscribe and organize yourselves into visiting committees to canvass from house to house in the evenings. This is not an impossible task for a body of determined S. L. P. men.

The spirit in which Comrade Gerner, of Utica, N. Y., writes, is the spirit that should dominate everywhere. He says: "Our answer to 'The Red Circular' is: please send us a block of prepaid subscription blanks for money enclosed. As soon as the blanks are disposed of we will get another block and keep it up until the financial road is clear."

Comrade Carlson, of Tacoma, Wash., sends in five Weekly subs. and takes twenty dollars worth of prepaid blanks for the section.

Section Cleveland takes two blocks, Sections Columbus, O., Lynn, Mass., Fall River, Mass., San Antonio, Tex., Denver, Colo., Henning, Minn., Louisville, Ky., Baltimore, Md., New Haven, Conn., Rensselaer County, N. Y., and John Cook, of New York City, one block each, and Section Yonkers, N. Y., 12 blanks.

The comrades who have sent in five or more subs. to the Weekly People are as follows: A. G. Allen, Salt Lake City, Utah, 11; Charles Pierson, Sedalia, Mo., 22; 35th A. D., New York City, 18; C. E. Hagar, St. Louis, Mo., 18; Fred Brown, Cleveland, O., 13; 34th A. D., New York City, 10; J. J. Dolan, Lynn, Mass., 10; A. McGinnis, Mayville, Mich., 8; David Hochwald, Cleveland, O., 7; R. Berdan, Paterson, N. J., 6; M. T. Berry, Lynn, Mass., 6; J. J. Corcoran, Albany, N. Y., 6; H. Kober, Brooklyn, N. Y., 6; J. U. Billings, Grand Junction, Colo., 6; Philip Kieley, Chicago, Ill., 5; W. E. Kern, New Orleans, La., 5; Wm. Sullivan, Watervliet, N. Y., 5; E. Leitner, San Antonio, Tex., 5. Total, 402.

Seventy-two subscriptions were received for the Monthly People of which Charles Pierson sent in 13, F. Bohmbach, Boston, Mass., 15, and J. Anderson, Gardner, Mass., 10.

Owing to some gears on the printing press breaking on Nov. 4, The Weekly People of Nov. 7th was a little late. The Daily of the same date was only partly run off in time to catch the outgoing morning trains. After the press was repaired the remainder of the papers were printed and sent out. The delay was unavoidable.

## LETTER-BOX OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

W. S., LA SALLE, ILL.—1. The S. L. P. could not be in possession of a municipality like the city of Greater New York without polling a very large vote outside of the city also, and in the several States.

2. In possession of such a city, with such a vote outside of the city, the S. L. P. could immediately proceed to carry out its programme. The capitalists would seek to start a riot, as they are now doing in Panama, for a pretext to resort to violence. But then the city would not stand helpless. The outside support would rise to protect the flat of the suffrage. The dance will then start, and the S. L. P. would mop the earth with the rioting capitalists.

3. Let but the working class place this city in S. L. P. hands, with all that that implies, and there will be no difficulty in "providing decent, sufficient and self-respecting methods of employment," etc.

C. N., NEW YORK.—There can be no doubt that a request to have the S. L. P. platform so amended as to expressly provide for "equal rights for men and women" would be granted, if it is made clear that the present wording of the platform is doubtful. All S. L. P. literature expressly demands the equality of the rights of the sexes.

N. T. F., CAMBRIDGE, MASS.—The correspondent, who signed J. H. E. in the Daily of Oct. 31, hails from Cambridge, Minn., not Mass. "Mass." was a typographical error.

C. S., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—There is not a word of truth in the statement. The comrades who sold literature at the Cooper Union meeting were the Walsh brothers and Sater. That statement, like the rest of the report, is a tissue of silly inventions.

"REX," BRIGHTWOOD, IND.—That notice will be used editorially. Probably next week.

"KAENGURUH," BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The S. L. P. strike its colors? Why, you silly marsupial, the S. L. P. has not yet begun to fight!

F. H., BOSTON, MASS.—The cigar manufacturers' petition to have the import taxes remain on manufactured cigars is neither in favor nor against the workingman. The workingman's wages—his share of the wealth—does not depend upon taxes. It depends upon the supply of labor in the labor market. This is one of those instances where the complication of points is apt to make workingmen slip, or well-meaningly take opposite views.

In so far as the signing of such a petition by a workingman implies that he imagines the tariff question affects his class, he is wrong to sign.

In so far as such signing indicates labor's subservience, not in the shop only, but in the legislature also, to pull the hot chestnuts out of the fire for his exploiter, the workingman is wrong to sign.

In so far as he may be a trades unionist, owing his job to a deal with the boss, the workingman who refuses to sign such a petition must be above the average in independence of spirit.

In so far as a workingman, by signing such a petition, implies a promise to the boss that he will back up such a petition at the polls, he does wrong if he intends to vote the S. L. P. ticket, which exposes the fraud upon labor of all such petitions.

Finally, in so far as the workingman may fear that a lower tariff may throw his employer out of business, and thereby kill him, the workingman's job—that workingman is in a mental fix. If he is an S. L. P. man, and yields and signs, it shows that he is compromising what he knows with what he fears.

The S. L. P. man's name has no business on such petitions. It should be above them all. They proceed from capitalist interests, and are floated by the fakirs to ingratiate themselves with the bosses.

A. B. McC., MANCHESTER, VA.—The editorial "The Buffer Punctured" answers part of the question. The early history, or the ante-deluvian history of the S. L. P., is there given. During those days, before 1890, all manner of corruption and fusing went on. That was the issue between the new element that came in that year and the Volks-Zeitung corporation guard. You may judge how squarely you hit the nail on the head by turning the answer of the "Social Democratic Herald" a "side-shuffle." It is passing quaint to be told now that the very push which indulged in such corrupt practices, and which after the split from the S. L. P., felt free to return and did return to the vomit of fusion and such other practices, meant to tie their own hands!!! It is just like that gentry to seek to throw upon the clean S. L. P. the dirt of their own old, unclean Socialist Labor Party.

M. C., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—All the six questions resolve themselves into one. The S. L. P. judges its members individually. A bourgeois in the S. L. P. whose conduct is at war with his class interests, and in line with the class interests of the working class, is prized. Of course he has to be watched. Class interests are imperious things. And a doubtful man is not a safe man in our councils.

J. O. D., LYNN, MASS.—Soundness and extremeness are distinct things. Cultivate the former, avoid the latter: Midway keep thy course . . . . . If too low, The damps will clog thy pinions; if too high, The heats relax them.

"STRANGER," BROOKLYN, N. Y.—You miss the real point. The reason the Social Democrats assembled at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum last election night were . . . . . on the yarn that

their vote in Manhattan and Bronx Boroughs was over 20,000, was the desire to enthrone the gentlemen so as to induce them to drink beer. Remember that these "Labor Lyceums" are annexes of some brewery concern or other. They are there to sell beer, and the "partei" is there to furnish the drinkers. The 20,000-vote-in-Manhattan-and-Bronx yarn was in the nature of a cheap "free lunch" thrown in with the beer. As reported from other quarters, the gentlemen needed the "free lunch." Their faces were yards long at the absence of the "tremendous increase" that they had been stuffed to expect. Moreover, the "encouraging" news from Massachusetts had leaked through.

D. B., SEATTLE, WASH.—1. There are no statistics specifically showing the number of wage workers in the U. S. In order to ascertain them, one has to equip himself with the key that Socialism furnishes to distinguish the working class from the other classes. And with that key go through the census figures under the several heads where population and labor are enumerated. 2. The record of James F. Carey was given in these columns a short time ago. Shall hunt up the passage and let you know next week.

J. G. D., SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—The feature of Bohm Bawker's book, "Karl Marx and the Close of His System," is an attempt to evade Socialism by raising a confusing mass of detail. That mass, however, if kept under control, rather furnishes further bases for Socialist argument. In this respect Bohm Bawker's book resembles David A. Wells' book, "Some Recent Economic Changes."

E. S., PORT JERVIS, N. Y.—The man who does not believe what he says is a knave; the man who thinks himself infallible is a fool. With this explanation, our answer is: "We hold Socialism to be correct. It is possible we err. If we err, then the Socialist Labor Party will go down. If we do not err, then the Socialist Labor Party will triumph."

B. C., NEW BRIGHTON, N. Y.—The article "As to Methods" was extensively debated in the Party press. Its only clearly expressed point was that the Party should nominate candidates who will "make a campaign," and not men who, however useful otherwise, could not take the stump, and thereby enlist interest in Socialism. In the arguments that followed, a Volkszeitung stockholder, who objected to the article, was asked to explain why, in Germany, at the then recent elections, when the seat Strassburg was to be contested, no less a man than Bebel, and from a far-away town, was set up, and why in all such new places only men able to "make a campaign" were chosen? His answer is still forthcoming. Mr. Furman's letter is funny reading. Let's keep it for our collection. It is funny to see that flannel-mouthed denouncer of the working-class and adorer of the bourgeois affect "class-consciousness." For the rest, the man may not have intentionally meant to misrepresent the article on "As to the Methods." He is just scatter-brained enough not to have understood it.

F. H. C., SKYKOMISH, WASH.—1. Not so fast! Number 1 is correct; the laborer pays no taxes. The second proposition is also correct; the monopolist or big capitalist constantly shifts his taxes onto the class below, the middle class. It does not from this follow that the monopolist succeeds in wholly unloading the burden upon the small fellow. In fact, he does not, and has big taxes left for him to pay after he has unloaded all that it was possible to unload.

2. We can find in the article "The Cloven Hoof Peeps Out" no evidence of "solitude for the cockroach middle class." In what consists the evidence?

3. It would be a long wait if we were to wait till the monopolist had crushed the middle class out of existence by taxation. The crushing process proceeds mainly by underselling, due to the monopolists' superior means of production. The taxes only aggravate the small man's plight. Read the first of the "Two Pages From Roman History."

M. B., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—O'Dare ran in 1887 for the Assembly in the then Twenty-second District. He did not run on the Socialist Labor Party ticket. There was not then any such party in the field. He ran on the United Labor Party ticket, after the Socialists split away from George, and he was defeated. He ran again, either the next year or 1889 on the Republican ticket, and was elected. He then went back on the Republicans in the Assembly by siding with the Democrats. He has not run since.

J. E. A., KANSAS CITY, MO.—The best substantiation of the recent interview regarding Hanna's warning is that it appeared in the columns of this paper. The source from which that and many other such articles proceed is a well-tried source. Otherwise articles of that nature would not appear in The People.

C. K., CLEVELAND, O.—The same as above to C. S., Philadelphia.

E. B., ANN ARBOR, MICH.; J. S., CLEVELAND, O.; D. R., PHILADELPHIA; S. B. T., LOS ANGELES, CAL.; J. D., ERIE, PA.; W. A., WASHINGTON, D. C.; J. A. S., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.; D. L., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.; L., LYNN, MASS.; B. J., SEATTLE, WASH.; A. T., NEW YORK, matter received.

Experts recognize

"MOZLE"

The Best Turkish Cigarette Made



## OFFICIAL

**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**—Harry Kahn, Secretary, 246 New Reade street, New York.  
**SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA**—National Secretary, C. A. Wetzel, 2294 Dundas street, London, Ont.  
**NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY**, 24 New Reade street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)  
 Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Thursday 10 p. m.

**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**  
 Regular meeting held November 6, at 246 Reade street. A. Klein in the chair. Absent and excused, Hammer and Schmidt. Absent without excuse, Kinnally, and T. Walsh was chosen secretary pro tem. The financial report showed receipts, \$91.84; expenditures, \$59.60.

A discussion ensued about a plan to rid the party of the balance of the debt on its printing plant and accomplish this by January 1, 1904. The debt being now down to less than \$4,700 plus interest, it was held that if an average of \$3 per member be raised between now and that date, the debt could be wiped out and the new year begun with this impediment to progress out of the way. The secretary reported that he had communicated with Section New York, as per instructions, urging that a membership mass meeting be called to launch the plan, at which meeting steps be taken to engage the entire party membership in the work and thus insure its success. Other steps, calculated to insure a continuous rise of circulation, were also discussed.

Communications: From C. H. Chase, about the affairs in the State of Colorado and the work to be done in that State. From New York section asking that the Labor News Co. discontinue the publication of pamphlets in the form of the buzz-saw series and go back to the old form. Resolved to look into the matter and examine it from a business point of view. From Roanoke, Va., reporting about local work and increased vote, at recent election. From Louisville, Ky., stating that J. H. Arnold, a suspended member, had been expelled for conduct unbecoming a member during the term of his suspension. From Detroit, Mich., to the effect that a suit brought by a member against the police for false imprisonment had been side-tracked and that appeal would have to be taken. The suit against the police grew out of an arrest made for public speaking. From San Francisco, Cal., reporting work done by members at large organized into a press club for the purpose of pushing circulation. From Albany, N. Y., reporting expulsion of Fred Dunne, the candidate for sheriff, for endorsing a candidate for school commissioner running on the Independent Democratic ticket at Watervliet. From Jamestown, N. Y., and Erie, Pa., in reference to meetings held by Eric speaker at Jamestown. From Mayville, N. Y., about meeting held there, addressed by B. Reinstein of Buffalo. From Philadelphia, Pa., reporting that four members of that section had gone to Reading, Pa., to hold public meetings; also pointing out what work had to be done to put Reading in shape. From Baltimore, Md., complaining that the 12 votes cast by that section against all of the Everett amendments had not appeared in the tabulation. The secretary explained that the section had sent a vote at the time the call for amendments had been issued, but had neglected to vote after issuance of the proper call.

Other communications, dealing with local work, etc., were received from Pawtucket, R. I., New London, Conn., Schenectady, N. Y., Reading, Pa., Vancouver, B. C., Marion, Ind., Rochester, N. Y., and other points.

Timothy Walsh, Recording Secretary, pro tem.

**ILLINOIS S. E. C. CALL.**  
 To the Members of the Socialist Labor Party in the State of Illinois, Greeting:—Charles Pierson has toured the State for a period of twenty-two weeks, from May 18 to October 18, canvassing the following towns for the Party, press, selling literature and holding street meetings: Alton, Madison County; Springfield, Sangamon County; Quincy, Adams County; Galesburg, Knox County; Moline and Rock Island, Rock Island County; LaSalle, Streator and Ottawa, LaSalle County; Aurora, Geneva and Elgin, Kane County; Joliet, Will County; Peoria, Peoria County, and East St. Louis and Belleville, St. Clair County. He held 79 street meetings, secured 95 yearly subscriptions for The Weekly People, 207 half-yearly subscriptions for same, 151 for The Monthly People and 19 for German Party organ, mostly for six months. He also sold 1,051 five-cent pamphlets and distributed over 4,000 leaflets. The total amount of money collected by Pierson for subscriptions and the sale of pamphlets, exclusive of the German paper, was \$251.70. About \$175 was remitted to The People and the Labor News Company. The balance, \$75, was his commission. Including \$5 for leaflets, \$7.25 railroad fare (the balance Pierson paid himself) and \$220 for wages, he has cost the Party in Illinois for Pierson's 22 weeks of agitation \$232.25.

Comrades, your State Executive Committee considers the money well spent; 1,172 subscribers are now readers of the Party press, the majority of whom were strangers to it before Pierson's tour. This it found to be productive of good results. We have added to the Party press (which we are part owners of) \$175 worth of business, thereby assisting to establish it upon a self-supporting basis, which the latest report from the N. E. C. shows has about been accomplished. The difference between what

we have paid out and what has been taken in is what the 22 weeks' agitation really cost us; that is, \$57.

But, Comrades, this work must not stop! Now that the press is on a nearly self-supporting basis, we must keep it there! To do so we must continue our agitation! Having received requests from a number of comrades in the State, your committee has secured the services of Pierson for next year. He will start operations on or about May 1. To keep Pierson in the field will require in the neighborhood of \$300.

That is not all. Next year there will be State and national elections. Conventions will have to be held, which will also entail expenses. We should have at least one good speaker tour the State in addition to Pierson, at least three months prior to election. To do all this, we must have \$600 in the State treasury.

Do not get frightened. The proposition is not so great as it seems. Your State Executive Committee has deliberated on the matter, and believe it can easily be done. This is our plan:

We have, say, 100 members in the State. Granted that 50 of these will pledge themselves to pay \$1 per month and the other 50, 50 cents per month; that will net in six months \$450. Counting on a few pledges from sympathizers, contributions on campaign lists, and the profits from balls, entertainments, etc., that can be given during the winter, the \$600 mark will be reached.

Let each Section elect a committee to attend to this special work of securing pledges and collecting the same, and remit amounts collected to S. E. C. each month.

Let each member-at-large constitute himself a committee of one for the same purpose.

Begin the work at once. The report of this fund will appear in the minutes of the S. E. C., each amount credited to the Sections and members-at-large reporting.

Comrades, the foregoing pertains to the preparation of our work to be done in Illinois next year. But there is still another work that must be performed, else what we have done and what we may do will have been done in vain. We refer to the indebtedness on The People.

The statement with the plans from the National Executive Committee you have already received. Your State Committee urges prompt action in this matter. It would take too long to wipe out this debt if we simply get subscriptions for the Party press. We must do our share toward clearing off this debt. It must be accomplished before the campaign proper commences next year. Your committee recommends that each Section elect a special committee to attend to this; secure pledges, sell loan certificates, receive donations, and send same at once to The Daily People Finance Committee.

Now, Comrades, winter is at hand. Outdoor agitation will soon be at an end in this State. Therefore, let us set to and do our best to pay off this debt. The hands of the Socialist Labor Party will then have been set free to begin the 1904 campaign, which will be the hardest fought battle the S. L. P. will ever have experienced.

When this struggle will have been passed through, the victory is ours. The Socialist Republic will have in sight.

Will W. Cox, State Organizer, Illinois State Executive Committee.

## THANKSGIVING DAY FESTIVAL.

A meeting of the Entertainment Committee was held on Oct. 28, at which Comrade A. Moren presided and G. Debs acted as secretary.

Steps were taken toward completing the programme, and much was accomplished in that direction.

Several hundred posters and 10,000 "throw-aways" were decided upon. These will keep the hustlers of the S. L. P. busy distributing.

Comrade Abelson reported that donations for the bazaar are already coming in, but like Dickens' "Oliver Twist," he wants "some more."

After a somewhat lengthy discussion it was decided that the restaurant at the festival be taken charge of by this committee. In the past much discomfort was caused on account of this branch of our affair being in the hands of a restaurateur, who would think more of his profits than of our visitors' comfort, as is usual on such occasions. But this committee is desirous of providing for the wants of our members and their friends on this occasion as never before in the past, so that in the future the men and women attending our festival will be able to pronounce them "tip-top." "A-1."

As to the programme, the members of the party are already aware that the Kaltenborn Orchestra is engaged to render the music. This, in itself, should be sufficient guarantee to buyers of tickets that it is a programme worthy taking in. But we intend to have a short vaudeville performance after the concert, which will be equally worthy of your attention, not to say anything of the ball which is to follow both.

But above all, we must not forget the bazaar and fair to take place after 9 o'clock, in the same hall, under the auspices of the Women's Auxiliary. All other branches of the festival can and will be taken care of by the committee, with the aid of members of Section New York. For the fair we are compelled to ask the assistance from out-of-town comrades, as well. It depends entirely upon those who are willing to donate some object of some intrinsic value whether the fair shall be a success or not.

When we speak of the success of the

fair under the management of the Women's Auxiliary, it means material aid for The Daily People, and who of the Socialist Labor Party does not realize the very important work accomplished by The People? Or who that does not think of the necessity of strengthening and upholding the arms of our press?

The articles donated will be disposed of in various ways for the benefit of The Daily People. Gather whatever and wherever you can donations for this fair, and send them on to L. Abelson, 246 New Reade street, New York.

Do not give as an excuse that because you had to hustle before election that you are tired, and that you are entitled to rest. We cannot—we must not—rest for a moment until capitalism is a thing of the past!

Get to work! The one thing uppermost in your mind now, after election, should be the success of our concert and ball on Nov. 26, at Grand Central Palace.

We would also like to impress upon the members in Section New York of the S. L. P. and members of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance the necessity of selling a large number of tickets, and make this coming affair one grand demonstration in favor of The Daily People. Whatever the result may be of the election, one thing we are sure of, and that is that the coming years will play havoc with the Kangaroo Social Democrats and their friends, the pure and simple labor fakirs.

The so-called prosperity of the past few years is on the wane, and everywhere there is evidence of an approaching crisis that is bound to shake not alone the multi-nominal party and the Gompers-Mitchell Federation, but capitalism itself.

In view of this approaching storm, we of the S. L. P. alone will be able to hold our own, and this, with The Daily and Weekly People upon a firmer paying basis.

The various conflicting issues of capitalism will not deceive our beguiled class, if we can reach them and speak to them the language of the Socialist Labor Party.

More power to The Daily People, until it will have delivered its message.

GET TO WORK!

The Entertainment Committee.

**S. L. P. VOTE**  
 (Continued from page 1.)

**VOTE IN ROANOKE, VA.**  
 Roanoke, Va., Nov. 6.—H. D. McTier, S. L. P. candidate for Senator in this district, polled 135 votes. The gain for the S. L. P. vote in the county was nearly 10 to 1.

**COLUMBUS, O., VOTE AND RESOLVE.**  
 Columbus, O., Nov. 6.—S. L. P. vote in this city is 64. Last year we polled 68 in the county.

Let us now increase the circulation of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. Let every dollar be spent on a canvasser and let those who have more lung power than they know what to do with unload it on his home people.

**CANTON, O., VOTE.**  
 Canton, O., Nov. 4.—Incomplete returns give John D. Goerke, S. L. P. candidate for Governor, 54 votes. Last year's vote was 82.

**WEEHAWKEN, N. J., RETURNS.**  
 Weehawken, N. J., Nov. 8.—S. L. P. vote here is 18. The vote last year was 14.

**WEST HOBOKEN, N. J., FIGURES.**  
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The proposition to make Mount Tom a State park was adopted by a very large vote, and will, therefore, become a law.

**VOTE IN BERKSHIRES.**  
 Adams, Mass., Nov. 6.—S. L. P. vote here for head of ticket is 63; S. P., 128. North Adams, S. L. P., 77; S. P., 200. Williamstown, S. L. P., 9; S. P., 6.

**TOWN OF DRACUT, MASS.**  
 Governor, Brennan, 6; Lieutenant-Governor, Rutherford, 7; Secretary of State, Coyle, 10; Treasurer, Nagler, 9; Auditor, Hagan, 13; Attorney General, Anderson, 13.

**LOWELL RETURNS.**  
 Governor, Thos. F. Brennan, 198; Lieutenant-Governor, M. Rutherford, 196; Secretary of State, Coyle, 305; Treasurer, Fred. Nagler, 267; Auditor, Hagan, 435; Attorney General, Anderson, 325.

**SPECIAL FUND.**  
 (As per circular letter of Sept. 3, 1901.)  
 Previously acknowledged ..... \$7,865.02  
 Pat McCann, Brinton, Pa. .... 1.00  
 Chas. Powell, Brinton, Pa. .... 1.00  
 E. Kelly, Brinton, Pa. .... 1.00  
 J. Martin, Brinton, Pa. .... 1.00  
 H. Jackson, Brinton, Pa. .... 1.00  
 P. Tolon, Brinton, Pa. .... .50  
 M. Weinberger, city. .... 1.00  
 T. C. Burgholz, Newark. .... 2.00  
 F. Belzner, Newark. .... 1.00  
 H. Hartung, Newark. .... 2.00  
 M. Hoffman, Newark. .... 4.00  
 Goetz, Newark. .... .50  
 W. Gilpin, Hoboken. .... 1.00  
 H. Edwards, Minneapolis. .... 5.00  
 Section Indianapolis, Ind., from pipe raffle ..... 13.60  
 S. Schwartzman, city. .... 1.00  
 Total ..... \$7,901.62

**MEETING OF LOCAL 257.**  
 A meeting of Local 257 will take place on Friday, Nov. 13, at the headquarters of Section Hoboken, 163 Fourth street, Hoboken, N. J. Now that the election is over, members should attend without fail.

**L. A. 42, S. T. & L. A.**  
 Regular meeting on Sunday, Nov. 15, 10 a. m., 14 Getty square. Business of importance. Peter Jacobson, Organizer.

Workingmen's Mutual Sick and Benevolent Society meets every first and third Wednesday at 501 East Eighty-second street.

## S. L. P. VOTE

(Continued from page 1.)

## VOTE IN ROANOKE, VA.

Roanoke, Va., Nov. 6.—H. D. McTier, S. L. P. candidate for Senator in this district, polled 135 votes. The gain for the S. L. P. vote in the county was nearly 10 to 1.

## COLUMBUS, O., VOTE AND RESOLVE.

Columbus, O., Nov. 6.—S. L. P. vote in this city is 64. Last year we polled 68 in the county.

Let us now increase the circulation of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. Let every dollar be spent on a canvasser and let those who have more lung power than they know what to do with unload it on his home people.

## CANTON, O., VOTE.

Canton, O., Nov. 4.—Incomplete returns give John D. Goerke, S. L. P. candidate for Governor, 54 votes. Last year's vote was 82.

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## NORTH BELLERICA, MASS.

Governor, Brennan, 6; Lieutenant-Governor, Rutherford, 4; Secretary of State, Coyle, 4; Treasurer, Nagler, 5; Auditor, Hagan, 8; Attorney General, Anderson, 8.

## TAUNTON VOTE.

Taunton, Mass., Nov. 6.—The vote cast here this year for Governor was: Brennan, S. L. P., 45.

## VOTE IN NEWBURGH, N. Y.

Newburgh, N. Y., Nov. 7.—The S. L. P. polled 38 votes in this city and 101 in the county (Orange).

## ROCHESTER, N. Y., RETURNS.

Rochester, N. Y., Nov. 6.—There were 841 votes cast for the S. L. P. in Monroe County. In this city Henry Engel for Mayor polled 296 votes.

## SYRACUSE, N. Y.

Syracuse, N. Y., Nov. 6.—Incomplete returns give S. L. P. 130 votes. Last year we received 354. Social Democrats slumped, getting 253 votes, against 315 in 1902.

## OHIO \$425 PLEDGE.

Section Hamilton ..... \$10.00  
 A. Wiessner ..... 4.80  
 \$14.80

## A SCATHING AND DOCUMENTARY INDICTMENT.

(Continued from page 2.)

the working class: that no man will be allowed to run as candidate on the old party tickets unless he is believed to be amenable to the influences of capitalist institutions and that the managers of those parties almost never make a mistake; that the capitalist class is in the councils of all Labor organizations, whether economic or political, outside of the Socialist Labor Party; that the tactics of the Socialist Labor Party in training the working class to scrutinize every action of their representatives, of their proclaimed friends, and to be quick and vigorous to condemn every one of questionable conduct; first, that no man shall be intrusted with the important work of the organization unless he has run this gauntlet of closest scrutiny and been found responsible, and, second, that, if even then one given a responsible position is used by capitalists for their interests, the fact will be promptly recognized and the officer forever branded as a traitor to the working class.

The Socialist Labor Party did not have to see H. E. Garman's name signed to a request for transportation and have the proof that the request was honored to know that he was a capitalist tool. His most favorable act toward our class, by a class-conscious wage slave, could be plainly seen to be a bit that the working class would never swallow; that labor fakirs of Garman's type would land the voters in 1900, that they would use the same old bait in 1902, and that many a sucker will be impaled upon the political hook in 1904 while jumping for that delusion (the eight-hour law, employers' liability law, etc.)

It was not necessary for the Socialist Labor Party to see David C. Coates' railroad passes to know that he was using his prestige with the working class to coax from the capitalist class some political and trade union reward. To the class-conscious wage slave, Coates' actions have been screeching the perfidy of his purpose.

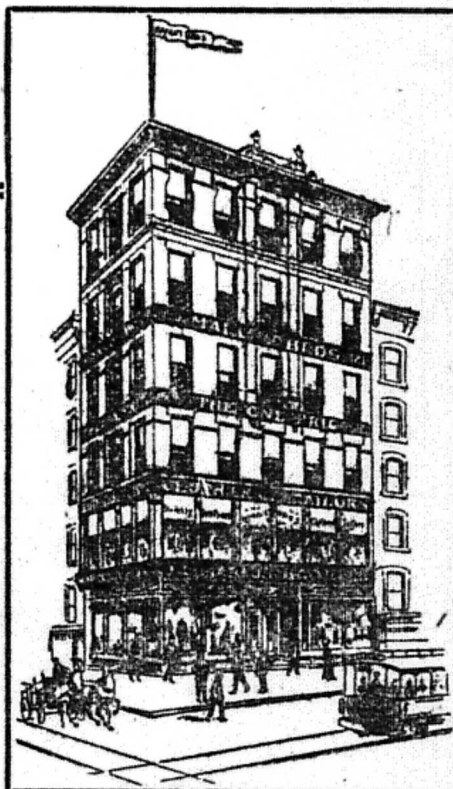
We did not need to see the price laid down to know that the leaders of the "Socialist" party were dishonest. Last year dozens of speakers (many who had hitherto told the workers to be meek and lowly that they might inherit the Kingdom of God) had the accommodations of spacious halls and were able to

get a tremendous amount of advertising and to do a great deal of traveling, appealing especially to the reform element. They said all that was necessary for Socialism to be accomplished was education. This year the conditions requisite for education of the working class in Colorado have been prime, yet the "Champions of Labor" and "Labor's Most Powerful Orators" have been lacking. Yet, if next year's campaign is fierce, they will, beyond doubt, in the field to lead the reform element (for the leaders). The "Socialist" party prated about teaching the workers, yet almost all of its speakers have been simply borrowed from the capitalist pulpit and rostrum. The form of organization of the "Socialist" party shuns "intolerance," "abuse" and "attacks upon individuals" renders that organization an easy mark for the capitalists. The rank and file are trained to follow the leaders and the private corporations who own them attend to the rest. On the other hand, the rank and file of the Socialist Labor Party is trained to criticize, trained to depend upon their own judgment, will immediately recognize and repudiate an untrue leader, and that renders our organization repulsive as it is to, and comparatively free from,

any one proposing to use the party for his own immediate personal ends; not only that, but it renders it impossible for the capitalists, even if they should attempt and succeed in bribing any one of our officers, to buy anything more than the one man, and possibly a few here worshipping whom we are glad to be rid of. Furthermore, the Socialist Labor Party compels its candidates to give the party sworn resignations from the candidacy and also from the office for which they are candidates, and when we elect our ticket, if any one of our candidates would sell out to the capitalist class, his seat would be declared vacant by our officers in the proper department. This is plainly the only organization whose loyalty to the working class is safeguarded, and it is, therefore, the only party worthy of the support of the working class.

## A COLORADO WAGE SLAVE.

**FOR OVER SIXTY YEARS**  
**An Old and Well-Tried Remedy.**  
**MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP**  
 has been used for over SIXTY YEARS by MILLIONS of MOTHERS for their CHILDREN with WONDERFUL SUCCESS. IT SOOTHES the CHILD, SOFTENS the GUMS, ALLAYS all PAIN, CURES COLIC, and is the best remedy for DIARRHOEA. Sold by Druggists in every part of the world. Be sure and ask for **MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP**, and ask NO OTHER KIND.  
 Twenty-Five Cents a Bottle.



## MARCUS BROS.

New York Custom Tailors,  
 With a Perfect Mail-Order System, 121-123 Canal Street

To be smart, stylish and shape-retaining, clothes MUST be made to order, and to be well-fitting, must be made to the measurement of the man who is to wear them. Even the best ready-made clothes never fit properly, and quickly lose their shape and become "baggy." A man never appears or acts best in such clothes, and is unjust to himself when he wears them. We want to hear from men who want to break away from the ready-made habit and who object to the high prices demanded by most merchant tailors for made-to-order clothes. We have a splendid organization of expert cutters and tailors, and now do the biggest custom tailoring business in New York, simply because we give value, style and perfect fit.

**FOR THE FALL AND WINTER OF 1903**  
 We Have All the Styles in  
**Suits and Overcoats \$15 AND UP.**  
 MADE TO ORDER, at

We send improved self-measurement blanks and full line of cloth samples, showing all that is newest and best in English Tweeds, Scotch Cheviots, Serges, Cashmeres, Unfinished Worsteds, Tibets, Vicunas, Oxfordes and other staple and tested fabrics.  
 We made to order every kind of clothes a man wears.  
 We take all the risk. No fit, no pay, is the Marcus Bros. way every day. Return anything not satisfactory and we will refund the money.